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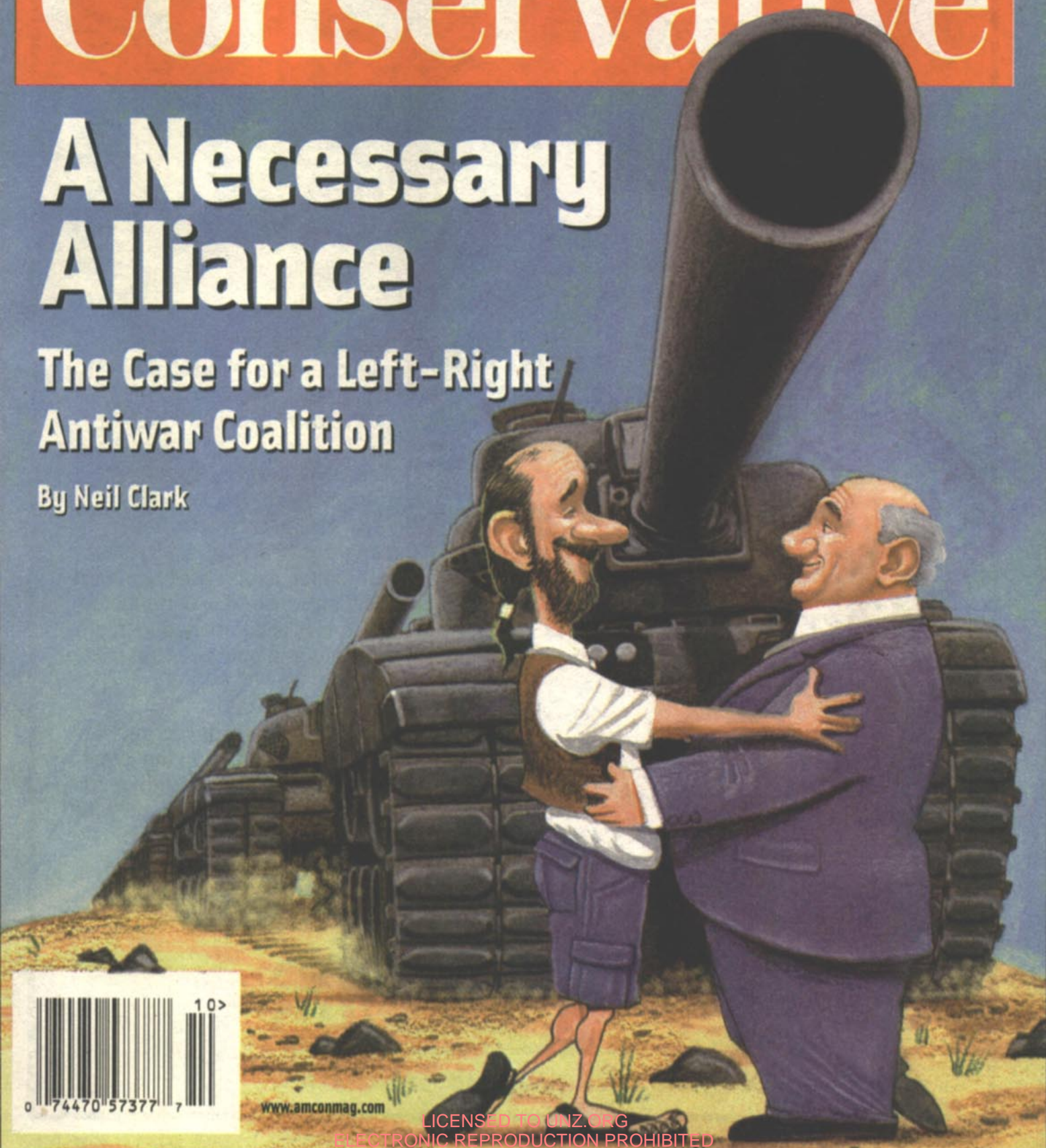
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# The American Conservative

## A Necessary Alliance

The Case for a Left-Right  
Antiwar Coalition

By Neil Clark



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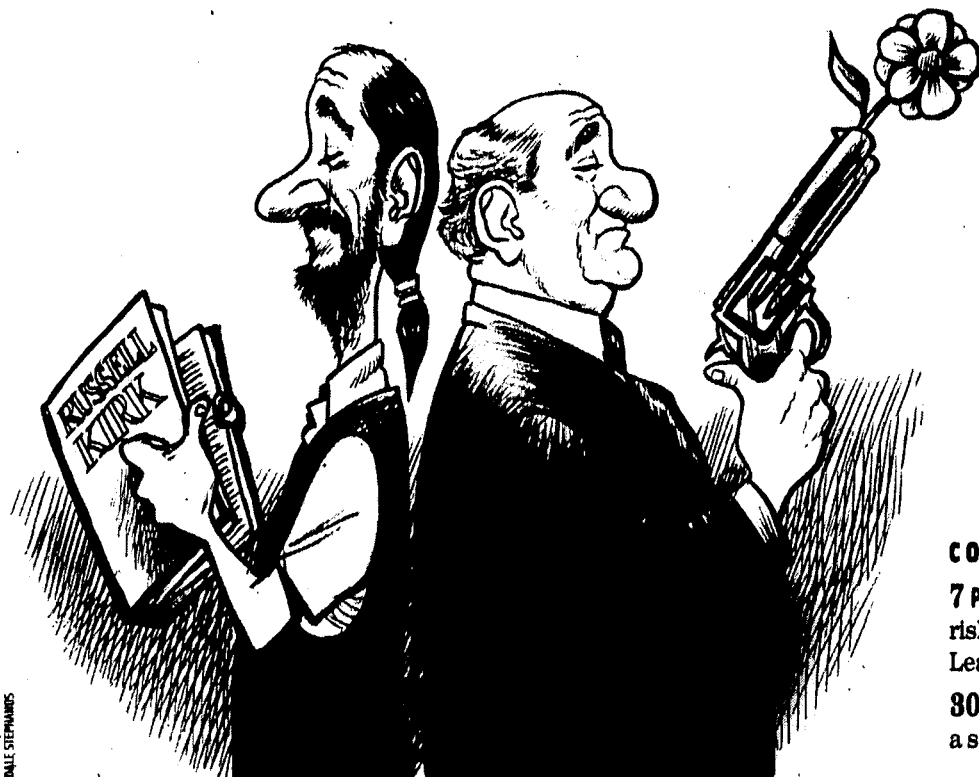
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## [ETHICS]

### FIRST USE

President Bush and his war planners are now thinking the unthinkable: preparing for the possible use of nuclear weapons in the war against Iraq. In a break with traditional U.S. policy, a classified national security directive—clearly inspired by the Iraq crisis—explicitly invokes the possibility of dropping The Bomb.

The U.S. would use nukes in response to an Iraqi deployment of chemical or biological weapons against U.S. forces, or, possibly, simply to attack underground Iraqi facilities impervious to conventional explosives. Though the nuclear threats are perhaps meant to deter Saddam from using biological and chemical weapons against invading troops, it is unclear why a regime facing destruction would go to its death without using every weapon in its arsenal. With or without an American nuclear response, Saddam would be killed and his regime ended. And all sides agree that he cares nothing for the fate of his people.

The nuclear scenario is thus all too plausible. Americans invade Iraq, Saddam unleashes his worst weapons, and, in response, Bush nukes Iraq. But while Saddam's use of chemical or biological weapons would hardly change the outcome of the war, America's first use of nuclear weapons would have momentous, tragic, and long-lasting consequences. The act would cross a moral Rubicon, inviting the revulsion of the world, the collapse of historic alliances, and would become the source of permanent enmity between the United States and the globe's Muslims. The firewall against first use of nuclear weapons—which has held since Nagasaki—would be shattered, magnifying the likelihood of further and repeated use.

The president would be wise to follow his father's example and rule out such a nuclear response against Saddam. He would be wiser still to think



through his pre-emptive war enterprise that gives rise to the nuclear option by placing American troops in harm's way for no compelling reason. Most of all, Americans at all levels should discuss the implications of first use of nuclear weapons in what many think is an altogether unnecessary war.

## [HISTORY]

### SURRENDER MONKEYS?

- Number of French dead in World War II through June 1940: 120,000
- Number of American dead in Korean and Vietnam Wars combined: 95,000
- Rhetorical value of the fiction of French cowardice: priceless

## [DEMOCRACY]

### UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

We have been at this business many years without seeing a substantial daily newspaper call for suspension of the First Amendment. But there is always something new under the sun. Earlier this month, a paper called, in fact, the *New York Sun*—a well funded neocon daily—editorialized that New York's mayor and police commissioner should obstruct the antiwar march scheduled

for Feb. 15 by denying a permit as long as possible in order to lower the turnout. (City officials did block the march, though some 200,000 did attend the stationary rally held in its place.)

The paper's argument revealed a breathtaking contempt for the traditions of free speech and dissent in this country. The *Sun's* editorialists meandered around the implication that the demonstrations might give aid and comfort to the enemy, finally suggesting that if the police allowed the protest, they ought to send witnesses along to preserve "the possibility of future treason prosecution."

Oppose the war and be prosecuted for treason. Perhaps it is a sign of desperation: that the *Sun's* editors know their argument about Saddam Hussein's pathetic regime being a serious threat to America grows less credible by the day, and that fewer and fewer Americans want to fight a war for oil or empire or Israel or to impose "democracy" on the Middle East.

But though the neocon world can be a closed echo chamber, the *Sun's* editors cannot be entirely unaware of the antiwar sermons being preached in the nation's churches or of the great range

of Americans who attend the growing peace demonstrations. We have seen both and found no traitors in either place; most seem motivated by a natural aversion to starting a war that will kill the innocent, makes America hated, and does more to provoke terrorism than to squelch it. CIA Director George Tenet has made this argument, as has former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft. Perhaps the *Sun* feels they should be indicted for treason as well. A better option: take the entire crew at the *Sun* aside for some basic instruction in American civics and values.

[EUROPE]

## VOICE OF THE SHIRES

A British editor sent us a wry e-mail last week calling Jacques Chirac "the man who speaks for England." This is bound to startle those used to Shakespeare, Joan of Arc, and British television comedies, but medieval rivalries notwithstanding, the majority of Britons opposed to an American invasion of Iraq find more to applaud in the speeches of the President of the French Republic than in those of Her Majesty's Government. Pitt the Younger and Henry V may be rolling in their graves, but their quarrel is with Tony Blair, not the London Street.

[AGITPROP]

## ALL TOGETHER NOW

The new line of argument has emerged in War Party advocacy for an attack on Baghdad, expressed with such uniformity as to suggest intensive focus-grouping or at least detailed talking points.

Witness National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice opening *Meet the Press*: "The suffering of the Iraqi people seems to be falling by the wayside as we talk about the way to respond." Likewise, *National Review* Senior Editor David Pryce-Jones who speaks of Iraqis being "brutalized, tortured and murdered by a fascist thug." So too *Weekly*

*Standard* Editor Fred Barnes, "[I]gnoring the 25 million Iraqis who suffer under Saddam's autocratic rule ... strip[s] any moral dimension from the antiwar cause." Even Colin Powell footnoted, "most damning of all, [Saddam's] utter contempt for human life" in his UN presentation.

Notice a pattern? When the public was not persuaded that Saddam posed a direct threat to the U.S. or that al-Qaeda and 9/11 were connected to Iraq, the appeal turned emotional.

If invasion cannot be justified to prevent terror or secure pipelines, we have a moral duty to defend human rights—or so the argument goes.

Now the torture of innocents certainly merits universal condemnation and every diplomatic pressure. But it does not of itself make the case for invasion. As Michael Kinsley recently asked, "Is the Bush administration prepared to enforce the no-torturing-children rule by force everywhere?"

Were this in America's will or capacity, its practice remains problematic. The *New York Times* reports that in Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's catalog of risks, he includes, "concern about Saddam Hussein using weapons of mass destruction against his own people and blaming it on us." Factor in civilians sure to fall casualty to U.S. bombs or the prospect of vengeful bloodfeuds unleashed in an anarchic post-war Iraq, and our mission of liberation may well destroy far more Iraqi lives than it saves.

[JINGOISM]

## SUPERSIZE THAT

We hear that Cubbie's Restaurant in Beaufort, N.C. has a new sign in its front window: "Because of Cubbie's support for our troops, we no longer serve french fries. We now serve freedom fries." Comment might be superfluous, but we plan to serve a 1999 Mouton-Rothschild Pauillac at our next editorial meeting.

# The American Conservative

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## DRAWING DISTINCTIONS

Jeremy Lott (Feb. 10) claims that the Catholic League uses the same tactics as CAIR. That may be true in some instances but the examples he cited are poor. The Catholic League does not issue "frequent alerts to elicit comments and money from supporters." Six times a year we ask our members for a donation to pay for a specific project.

Do we "demonize" our opponents? We fight back against those who bash the Church, but it is not easy to see how this amounts to "demonizing." Regarding the charge of our "slipshod use of polling," we don't poll. Finally, do we "elevate small tiffs into a national outrage"? That's quite subjective: when we got "Ople and Anthony" fired for broadcasting a description of a couple having sex in St. Patrick's Cathedral, we weren't elevating anything—we were simply responding to an outrageous condition.

In short, it is tricky business to lump all anti-defamation organizations together.

**WILLIAM DONOHUE**

President, Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights  
New York, N.Y.

## LET IT BE

How did the Jeremy Lott piece on CAIR (Feb. 10) get into your publication?

Here's some news for him and for you: Islam and America are NOT compatible. Let Islam be Islam within its own borders (hence the insanity of even dreaming of nuking Mecca). But keep it there.

**JONATHAN CHAVES**

Washington, D.C.

## BLAME GREENSPAN

Robertson Morrow (Feb. 10) offers an insightful analysis of how the bursting of the housing bubble could lead to serious economic hardship in the U.S. However, his blame of economic globalization is incorrect.

In the past, other financial bubbles were caused by monetary mismanagement, notably the one in the 1920s. The collapse of the 1930s was a direct result of the excesses inherent in the socialized system of central banking, that is, the monetary inflation by central banks, which kept interest rates abnormally low by inflating the amount of money in circulation. This led to poor investments and the subsequent depression.

Today, we have experienced a similar stock market crash, albeit without the crash of the banking system because of Alan Greenspan's monetary mismanagement. He and his colleagues now continue to inflate the money supply to forestall a sharp economic correction and prevent a further financial crash. It is this current round of monetary inflation that has created the housing price bubble. Government is the cause of price bubbles and economic misery, not economic globalization.

**JAMES S. GRICHAR**

Woodstock, Va.

## Robertson Morrow replies:

*Mr. Grichar is correct that fiat money has been a problem since its invention. But the proximate cause of the mortgage bubble was the massive flow of cheap foreign money, which allowed domestic overconsumption. When the money stops flowing, the Fed will face a tough choice. In the 1970s, it saved the dollar by letting unemployment skyrocket to 11 percent. In multicultural 2004, high unemployment may cause a revolt.*

## IMPERIAL EDUCATION

It is appropriate that much of the discussion of American foreign policy in *The American Conservative* has centered on the imperial Roman comparisons with the United States in the post-Soviet world. Unfortunately, the wisdom of Horodotus, Thucydides, Livy, Plutarch, and Tacitus—once the core of a real edu-

cation—is totally foreign to the products of American education today.

Rome conquered far and wide and was in the process conquered by her defeated victims. She learned slavery, barbarism, tyranny, and oriental mystical religion from them and lost her pristine republican virtue. So did the Athenians as they organized the other Greeks to resist the advance of the Persians. We need also to remember that it was squabbling among the inhabitants of Palestine that first brought Roman legions to the Jordan River.

In trying to democratize Arabs and Muslims, we are far more likely to pick up their vices than to teach them our virtues. I have no sense that Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, or Powell know anything about any of this "stuff." The more's the pity, or, as the French would say, *tant pis!*

**NORMAN RAVITCH**

Savannah, Ga.

## BOWLING ALONE

Thank you for Fred Reed's wonderful piece (Jan. 27). More schools, more highways, and more oil simply mean more people but with no particular purpose other than to produce and consume. Before electricity, rural people entertained themselves by reading and talking and sometimes song sessions at the church or schoolhouse, which was why the McGuffey's Reader generation was articulate. My biggest disappointment upon becoming a homeowner is that my neighbors do not want to neighbor but just go inside and watch TV.

**MARK DAVIS**

Kansas City, Kan.

*The American Conservative* welcomes letters to the editor. Submit by e-mail to [letters@amconmag.com](mailto:letters@amconmag.com), by fax to 703-875-3350, or by mail to 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA 22209. Please include your name, address, and phone number. We reserve the right to edit all correspondence for space and clarity.



# Why the League of Nations Failed

As in most crises, so, too, in the case of Iraq, analogies to the 1930s and Munich are being drawn. Saddam is Hitler, the French and Germans the appeasers, Bush is

Churchill. Fox News' Brit Hume has dubbed French Foreign Minister De Villepin a Vichyite.

President Bush, too, sees close comparisons, warning that if the UN does not show more "backbone," it risks going the way of the League of Nations, ending up as an international "debating society."

But what really happened to the League? Why did it fail?

Created at the Paris Peace Conference, the League's Covenant was embedded in the text of the Versailles Treaty at the insistence of its great patron Woodrow Wilson. But when the U.S. Senate proposed reservations to the Covenant, to protect U.S. sovereignty and freedom of action, the president rejected them all. The Senate then rejected the treaty, and the United States never joined the League.

Its first crisis came in 1931. Japan had watched with rising alarm a civil war in China between the Communist armies of Mao Tse-tung and the Nationalists of Chiang Kai-shek. With Stalin aiding Mao and encroaching in Mongolia and North China, Japan decided to move its army deep into Manchuria and establish a buffer state it called Manchukuo.

After an investigation and report, the League found Japan guilty of aggression. But its only two members with the power to intervene, Britain and France, had no interest in confronting Japan over North China. Nor did the United States. So, Tokyo was verbally thrashed. But, humiliated and enraged at the insult, the proud Japanese walked out of the League.

A second blow to the League came in 1933 when Hitler, having won power on a platform to restore German rights and lands taken away at Versailles, also walked out of the League, which had been established in part to enforce the terms of Versailles.

A third crisis came in 1935 when Mussolini, after a border incident between Italian Eritrea and Ethiopia, ordered his army to invade. Italy overran Ethiopia, whose emperor, Haile Selassie, made a dramatic personal appeal to the League.

The British public was in favor of League action, but British interests dictated against. Italy was a long-time friend. Mussolini had stood up to Hitler at the time of the attempted Nazi coup in Vienna in 1934 and had invited Britain and France to join his Stresa Front against the Reich.

Moreover, the British and French empires had dozens of African colonies. To confront Italy militarily over a landlocked colony in the heart of the continent seemed not to be worth it. Their real concern was Germany, not Italy.

Still, public pressure forced Britain and France to impose sanctions on Italy, though these did not include an embargo of oil, the one import that was critical to Mussolini. Italy's prime supplier of oil, the United States, declined to join in the sanctions, thereby eviscerating them. FDR had no wish to antagonize millions of Italian-Americans expected to go to the polls in November 1936.

When Hitler, in flagrant violation of Versailles, moved troops into the Rhine-

land in March 1936, the League talked but failed to act. Nor was anything done to block his *Anschluss* with Austria in 1938, or annexation of the Sudetenland after Munich, or to interfere with the Nazi protectorate Hitler assumed over the remnant of the Czech state in 1939.

The League was finished. But in the final analysis, it was not the League that failed. It was the Allies that failed. Neither Britain nor France—nor the United States—was willing to risk war for high principle, if validating that principle imperiled vital interests.

None of the three had a vital interest in whether or not Japan (or Russia or China) controlled Manchuria. And if the United States refused to join the League, how could nations object if Germany walked out?

As for Ethiopia, was upholding the principle of non-aggression in Africa worth a war that might drive Italy into the arms of Nazi Germany? Indeed, the limited sanctions imposed on Italy helped to create the Rome-Berlin Pact of Steel, that first Axis of Evil.

As for Hitler's military occupation of the Rhineland, this was a direct challenge to France. But if France, with its huge army, would not act militarily in its own vital interests, why should anyone else?

The lesson seemed clear then and does today. Great nations will not allow the claims or commands of multinational institutions to take precedence over vital interests. The crucial choice—of non-intervention, sanctions, or war—will ultimately be dictated by national interests alone.

Mr. Bush is doing the same thing, only he believes war is the right course. And whether the UN agrees or not is, in his word, "irrelevant." ■

[a view from the left]

## A Necessary Alliance

The prospects and pitfalls of a Left-Right antiwar coalition.

By Neil Clark

THESE ARE TRULY desperate days. "What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty and democracy?" As the world's greatest democracy prepares to unleash the full might of its military power on the people of Iraq, Mahatma Gandhi's words have special relevance.

One thing is for sure. The war against Iraq will not be the war to end all wars. It will be followed by others, all fuelled by the insatiable appetite for profits and power. Three years ago, the same forces now planning Shock and Awe were dropping cluster bombs and depleted uranium on civilian targets in Yugoslavia. In 2001, it was the impoverished Afghans' turn to get the B-52 treatment, with over 5,000 dying in the process.

And two years from now we will no doubt be reading in the *Wall Street Journal* of the danger Syria poses to world peace and how President Assad is the New Hitler. After that it will be turn of Belarus, Turkmenistan, and Libya.

The neocons and their liberal imperialist allies appear unstoppable. They have hijacked the major parties on both

sides of the Atlantic. Large sections of the free world's media are in their hands, and they have a whole entourage of journalists, eager and ready to peddle their lies, acting, in the words of John Pilger, as "handmaidens of a murderous power."

Yet despite all the propaganda, sound bites, and outright lies, the overwhelming majority on both sides of the Atlantic oppose the endless war policy of their mainstream political parties. The demonstrations against war in Iraq have been the biggest since Vietnam. In the U.S. and Europe, antiwar marches have attracted people from all walks of life, not just the usual peaceniks, trade unionists, and women's groups, but soldiers, farmers, and businessmen too. After some initial squeamishness, conservatives and socialists, right-wingers and Trotskyists, have been marching together, united in their desire for peace. But encouraging as all of this is, it will not be enough. To stop the War Party much more is needed. The antiwar alliance has to be put on a more permanent and formal footing. And that means the Left making a bold and historic step. If we really do want to "give

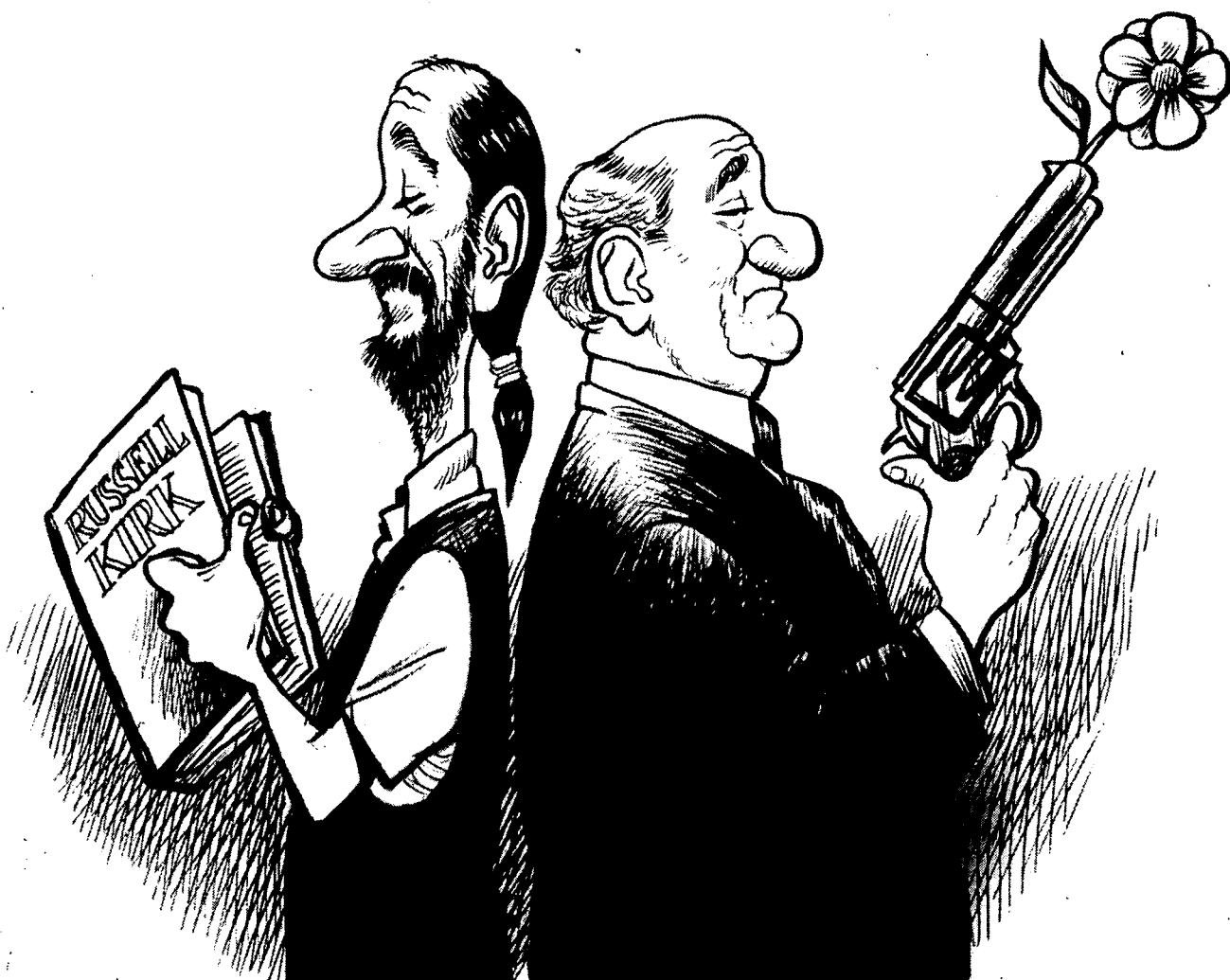
peace a chance," we need to take off our beads, remove Joan Baez from our turntables, and start to embrace warmly those at whom we have been hurling insults for the last forty years.

I write as a committed, and totally unreconstructed, Old Leftist. Yet if Pat Buchanan announced he was standing for president again, I would be on the next plane out to join his campaign team. But how many of my fellow socialists would join me? Until the Left is ready in its hordes to link up electorally with the old antiwar Right, the brutal truth is that we have no chance of defeating the Bush/Blair axis. With the 82nd Airborne about to take off for Baghdad, I believe it is now or never for the antiwar Left to answer the call.

In order to do so, and to make the "Peace Party" work, the Left needs to jettison some baggage and spruce up some of its thinking.

Since the 1960s, we have picked up several false friends who have done our cause no good at all, lost us immeasurable support, and prevented us from making the alliances it was in our interest to make. The first of these is political correctness. I was a card-carrying mem-





DALE STEPHANOS

ber of the British Labour Party until Blair came along in 1994 and told us we had to stop worrying and love Big Business, Big Macs, and Big Bombs. I supported, and continue to support the notions of a national health service, free school meals, and state pensions. But I have never understood why a belief in the mixed economy, where transport, the utilities, and the coal mines are publicly owned and run for the benefit of the whole community also entails assenting to same-sex marriages, an open-door immigration policy, and free abortion on demand. The most destructive, anti-conservative force in our societies is not Old Left socialism, but unbridled free market capitalism, which destroys communities, the environment, and traditional ways of living. Pete Seeger, the authentic voice of the old American Left, a man once described

as "so far Left he has probably never been called a liberal," got it spot on when he said that he was more conservative than Barry Goldwater. Goldwater just wanted to turn back the clock to when there was no income tax; Seeger meanwhile wanted to turn the clock back to "when people lived in villages and took care of one another." Political correctness, the biggest threat to free speech of our time, has plenty to do with neoliberalism, but precious little to do with socialism. It is time once and for all to end what Eugene Genovese has referred to as "the irrational embrace by the Left of a liberal program of personal liberation" and for the Left to stress, as Seeger did forty years ago, its positive conservatism.

On the key issue of globalization, there is much muddled thinking too. The anti-globalizers of the Left correctly

point out the destabilizing effects of unregulated capital flows and rail against the nefarious activities of parasitical currency speculators like George Soros. Yet at the same time, most also welcome the unrestricted movement of people, which too can destabilize societies as well as lead to the unemployment and lowering of wage rates of indigenous workers. Naomi Klein is right about most things in her critique of globalization, but in her attack on the immigration policy of "Fortress Europe" and "Fortress USA," she is surely missing the point. For far too long the Left has got away with shouting "racist" at anyone brave enough to challenge their assertion that turning each country in the developed world into a melting pot helps build social cohesion, when all the available evidence suggests that sadly it does not.

Next up, the Left has to drop its traditional antipathy to organized religion and, in particular, to the Catholic Church. The Vatican has always been anti-Marxist-socialist, but it has, at least in some teachings, been anti-capitalist too. Pope Pius XI believed liberal capitalism and communism to be "united in their satanic optimism." Under the present Pope, the Catholic social teaching has again been pushed to the fore, and the Vatican's criticism of hedonistic international capitalism has intensified. The significance of the Pope's speech in Riga in 1993, where he condemned "the international imperialism of money" and spoke of Marxism's "kernel of truth" was, I believe, missed by many on the Left. Far from being an enemy, the Catholic Church is an ally of all those who oppose the tyranny of neoliberal globalization and the cult of materialism it engenders. It is also on the side of those who oppose war. The Vatican stands for peace now as resolutely as it did twelve years ago in the first Gulf War and in 1999 in the war against Yugoslavia.

## **ASH-CANNING PROPOSALS FOR WAR CRIMES COURTS AND THE INEQUITABLE KYOTO AGREEMENT ARE ONE THING, BUT A KNEE-JERK REJECTION OF ALL INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS IS ANOTHER.**

Last, but certainly not least, the Left needs loudly and unequivocally to declare its support for the increasingly endangered concept of national sovereignty. We must defend national sovereignty not because we are nationalists but because we are democrats. The very essence of democracy is that decisions are taken as closely as possible to those affected and that those affected have a say in the decision-making process. But this cannot be the case when the decisions are imposed by supranational bod-

ies such as the WTO, World Bank, NATO, and the EU. The War Party of course sees national sovereignty very differently. If there is one issue that clearly demonstrates this and that demarcates who exactly the Peace Party's enemies are, it is Kosovo. The "humanitarian" intervention, in which a sovereign state that threatened no other was bombed for 78 days and nights for the way in which it prosecuted its own "war against terrorism" brought all the imperialists out of the woodwork for us to see in broad daylight. And what a sight it was. The Clintons, the Bushes, Albright and Rubin, Gore, Lieberman, and Dole, Tony Blair and William Hague, Richard Cohen and William Cohen, Baroness Thatcher, and last but not least, the "contrarian" Christopher Hitchens, all clamoring to bomb Belgrade back to the Stone Age.

The very same people are as dismissive of Iraqi sovereignty today as they were of Yugoslavia's four years ago. For the War Party, national sovereignty is a tiresome, outdated, and disposable notion that gets in the way of their plan

to globalize the entire world and, in the name of democracy and human rights, eliminate all known dangers to the freedom of operation of Goldman Sachs.

The steps outlined above are ones I believe the Left must take if an alliance with the Old Right is to stick. At the same time, the Old Right needs to shift a little ground too. Its antiwar, anti-interventionist foreign policy stance is unimpeachable. But even something as splendid as isolationism has to know its limits. Ash-canning proposals for war crimes courts

and the inequitable Kyoto agreement are one thing, but a knee-jerk rejection of all international agreements is another. Whether or not the U.S. executes its murderers, denies transvestites the right to marry, or wishes to protect its domestic steel industry is its own concern and nobody else's, but issues such as global warming, wildlife conservation, and a ban on the use of landmines can only be solved by international co-operation. Acknowledging this does not make one a Wilsonian liberal, nor does it undermine a principled defense of national sovereignty.

Linking up with the Old Left would not come cost-free to the Old Right. They would inevitably be labelled "statist" and "socialist" by the libertarian Right, but they should not let this worry them unduly. Libertarian activist L. Neil Smith has already labelled Pat Buchanan a socialist for standing up for U.S. workers whose livelihoods are threatened by the inequities of global free trade. The views of those whom, in the words of Stuart Reid, regard as socialist "any nation that provides a public health service and observes the major feasts of the Christian calendar" should not be treated with too much reverence.

Even if an Old Right and Old Left alliance can be forged, many differences of opinion will of course remain. Although a social conservative, I can only find myself agreeing with three of Russell Kirk's "Six Canons of Conservative Thought." My views on public ownership, health care, and redistributive taxation would, I expect, be anathema to many *American Conservative* readers. My instinct on passing any branch of McDonalds or Starbucks to search for the nearest brick, however, is one I believe many conservatives would share.

On the most important issues of the day though, the issues that really matter: globalization, war, the threats to national sovereignty, and the seemingly relent-

less march of transnational capitalism, the Old Right and Old Left are already, by and large, singing from the same hymn sheet. The world of 2003, with its globalized grunge, skinny lattes, and stealth bombers, is not the world any of us wanted.

Many believe that a move from the Left will never come. But there are already positive signs. In France, Jean-Claude Michea in his book, *The Adam Smith Impasse*, has called for socialism to be uncoupled from liberalism and instead to draw its strength from "the altruism of ordinary people." The veteran British leftist Tariq Ali argues for a "campaigning coalition" that unites "all sections of society" to defend the public and its needs against the pirate politicians who serve the interests of global and local financial institutions. In Yugoslavia, a country that knows only too well to what lengths the War Party will go to to get its pound of flesh, the Old Left and patriotic Right are uniting to challenge the puppet government imposed by the international community, which has just decided to wipe the name of their country off the political map. And when *Pravda* reprints an antiwar article written by the editor of the *American Conservative*, something strange and wonderful is surely starting to happen.

By allying ourselves with the Old Right, the Old Left has nothing to lose and much to gain. Far from giving up our identity, we will, I believe, be reclaiming parts long lost to liberalism. We will be able to get back to basics and start to reiterate our core beliefs. Our opposition to the international rule of money power and the idolatry of market forces. Our unequivocal rejection of all forms of imperialism, whether they fly under a military, financial, or human rights banner. And above all, our denunciation of war as the primary method of solving international disputes.

For the moment, the imperialist bandwagon appears unstoppable. But if we on the Left can conjure up enough courage to step into the unknown and embrace an old enemy, then the days of the War Party will be numbered. What is lacking today is a permanent, populist, broad-based political force to challenge the worldview of the serial globalizers and the advocates of endless war. The Peace Party can be that force. The global crisis we face today makes the old Left-Right arguments over public ownership and tax rates irrelevant. Let's have those debates later, but first let's

get rid of those who threaten us with Armageddon. If we fail to grasp this historic opportunity and allow political correctness and petty tribalism to hold us back, the prognosis is bleak.

In that case, they should start building plenty of air raid shelters in Damascus. ■

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## The Myth of the Al-Qaeda Tie

Only America can create an Osama-Saddam alliance.

**By Doug Bandow**

WE SHOULD ALL be dead. At least, we all should be dead if the administration is correct about Saddam Hussein. In its view, there is nothing today that prevents Iraq from striking the U.S., the globe's dominant power. Therefore, we must attack without delay.

As predicted by critics of war with Iraq, the latest Osama bin Laden tape uses the prospect of dead Iraqis to recruit for al-Qaeda. America's "crusade war concerns the Muslim nation mainly, regardless of whether the socialist party and Saddam remain or go," said bin Laden. Yet a gaggle of desperate administration officials claim that bin Laden's call for terrorist attacks to defend the Iraqi people was evidence of his connection to Saddam—whom bin Laden

denounced as one of several Arab "infidels" and "pagan regimes."

Only slightly more defensible was Secretary of State Colin Powell's presentation before the UN Security Council. Yet he managed to prove only what we all already knew: Saddam Hussein has worked to develop weapons of mass destruction. Secretary Powell did not demonstrate that Baghdad would use any such weapons when doing so would threaten its own survival. He tried to prove a link between Baghdad and al-Qaeda, offering evidence that the eminently pragmatic secular dictator had made common cause with the suicidal religious fanatic. Alas, Secretary Powell failed to convince. Even the *Economist*, the British magazine eager



to commit U.S. soldiers to battle, pronounced it "the weakest part of the case for war."

Iraq has practiced terrorism against Iraqi defectors, and it has supported such terrorist groups as Hamas. Doing so is evil but does not target America. In fact, the world is full of terrorists. The most avid practitioners of suicide bombings were the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka before

not sworn al-Qaeda." The alleged link to Baghdad is especially threadbare: in fact, he has worked more closely with Iran. He has also visited Lebanon and Syria and has been aided by a member of the royal family of Qatar. One German intelligence officer told the *New York Times*, "[A]s of yet we have seen no indication of a direct link between Zarqawi and Baghdad."

## PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR ANSWERED A SIMPLE "NO" WHEN ASKED IF THERE WAS SUCH A LINK.

they recently agreed to a ceasefire. Support for such organizations—the Tamils have had extensive links to India—is awful but not a *casus belli* for America.

Which leaves al-Qaeda. The administration seems to have given up on the charge that Sept. 11 hijacker Mohammed Atta met with an Iraqi official before the attack. Now it points to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, whom it links to al-Qaeda and who received medical treatment in Baghdad. There is also the Ansar al-Islam group, which is said to include al-Qaeda soldiers and has established a poisons training camp. Yet it is not clear how much credence to give to information gleaned from foreign detainees, who may have been tortured, or American captives, who could hope either to win favor with their interrogators or to provoke a new conflict with Islam, which would benefit their cause.

Al-Zarqawi's ties to al-Qaeda are thin—it is not a rigid organization with a well-defined membership. German intelligence, which has extensively investigated al-Zarqawi's al-Tawhid organization, says that the group is more like an affiliate, and one focused on the Palestinians and Jordan, not the U.S. An American intelligence analyst goes even further, arguing that al-Zarqawi "is outside bin Laden's circle. He is

Saddam may allow terrorists "freedom of movement and financial transfers, but [he is] not in any way directing things," says Magnus Ranstorp of Scotland's University of St. Andrews. Even CIA Director George Tenet acknowledges that al-Zarqawi is not "under the control" of Iraq.

Nor is there solid evidence of support by either Saddam or Osama bin Laden of Ansar al-Islam. In fact, the group asserts its desire to overthrow Saddam to impose an Islamic theocracy and is operating in territory no longer under Baghdad's control because of America's "no-fly zone" policy.

The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* reports that the group is actually tied to Iran and located in Iraq because it "is perceived by them as a convenient place to work." Robert Malley, Middle East Director of the International Crisis Group, agrees: "Ansar would appear to be more dependent on certain groups in Iran." And since the organization is fighting Saddam's enemy, Kurdish separatists, he has little reason to attempt to assert control.

In this he is not alone. Tenet acknowledges concern over "disturbing signs that al-Qaeda has established a presence" in Iran and "continues to find refuge in the hinterlands of Pakistan and Afghanistan."

As for the alleged poisons lab, though *Ha'aretz*, like Secretary Powell, gives the allegation credence, even many Kurds say that they have not heard of it. Moreover, there is no evidence that Ansar al-Islam has ever conducted terrorism other than assassinations of Kurdish leaders.

Obviously, Saddam's lack of involvement does not qualify him for a good citizenship award. But, as Daniel Benjamin, a former staff member of the National Security Council observes, Saddam "has remained true to the unwritten rules of state sponsorship of terror: never get involved with a group that cannot be controlled and never give a weapon of mass destruction to terrorists who might use it against you."

It is one thing to make an arrest based on vaporous connections and dubious allegations. It is quite another to plunge into war, especially since the administration has brought enormous pressure to bear on intelligence agencies to prove a connection. Yet internal disagreements remain sharp, with the CIA and FBI particularly skeptical of the allegations. Of Secretary Powell's claims, one intelligence official told the *New York Times*, "We just don't think it's there."

So the Pentagon has asserted more control over Iraqi intelligence. "They are politicizing intelligence, no question about it," worries Vincent M. Cannistraro, a former counterterrorism head at the CIA. "They are undertaking a campaign to get George Tenet fired because they can't get him to say what they want on Iraq."

The Blair government has not had any more luck than the Bush administration. Although he now speaks of connections between Iraq and al-Qaeda, in late January Prime Minister Tony Blair answered a simple "no" when asked if there was such a link. And while London's famed dossier on Iraq has been

discredited for plagiarizing dated magazine articles, the BBC reported on a recent British intelligence report that concludes, "any fledgling relationship foundered due to mistrust and incompatible ideology."

Skepticism is appropriate. There have been a host of conspiratorial allegations seeking to tie Iraq to terrorism in the U.S. since Sept. 11. Moreover, the Middle East seems to bring out the worst in American propagandists. For instance, the first Gulf War saw false allegations of Iraqi baby-killing ginned up by the PR firm Hill & Knowlton and stories provided by Pentagon officials of Iraqi troops poised on the Saudi border. Alleged connections between Baghdad and al-Qaeda must be viewed as particularly suspect. "They are natural enemies," observes Benjamin. CIA Director Tenet suggests that they have essentially made a non-aggression pact, but that just shows how far apart they were. It certainly does not mean that Saddam would risk his survival to turn the crown jewels of his weapons development programs over to Islamists committed to jihad.

When the president began his quest for war in earnest last October, he declared that Iraq could attack America or its allies "on any given day" with chemical or biological weapons. This would seem to be a fearsome prospect, as President Bush said in his State of the Union address that Baghdad had enough anthrax to kill "several million people," enough botulinum toxin to kill another several million people, as well as a variety of chemical weapons that "could also kill untold thousands."

But Saddam has not attacked.

So the administration has played another card. President Bush explained, "Iraq could decide on any given day to provide a biological or chemical weapon to a terrorist group." But Saddam has not done so. At least, if he has, terrorists

have not used their new tools. Or if they have, we have not noticed.

The obvious reason we are still alive is that Saddam wants to stay alive. He understands that to attack the world's overwhelming power, either directly or indirectly, would trigger overwhelming retaliation that would annihilate his regime. However much he hates America, he does not want to die.

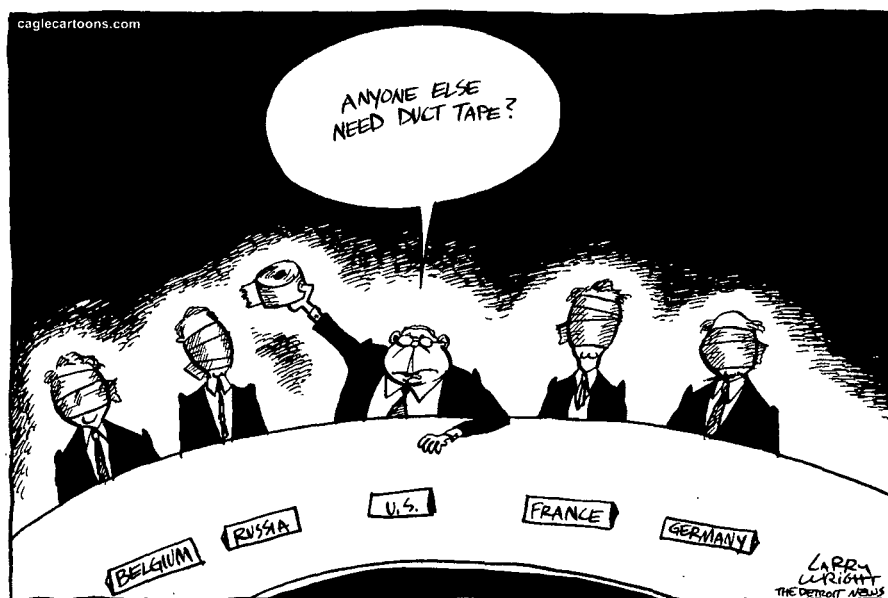
This is the same deterrence that forestalled a Soviet attack on America or Europe and restrained China from mounting assaults on Japan or Taiwan. Maybe deterrence is a second best policy. But it is better than war.

Alas, the administration is pursuing the one course that will eliminate deterrence. Attack Iraq, and Saddam has no incentive not to strike directly and hand off any remaining weapons to terrorists. Vice Admiral Lowell Jacoby, director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, expects missile and terrorist attacks on the U.S. and Israel in the event of war. Similarly, notes Tenet, Saddam, facing defeat, "probably would become much less constrained in adopting terrorist actions." Indeed, he might see helping

Islamists use such weapons against the U.S. as "his last chance to exact vengeance by taking a large number of victims with him." Perhaps providing medical treatment to al-Zarqawi was a means of keeping an option open should American bombs start raining down upon Baghdad.

Saddam Hussein is an evil man; the world will be a better place once he dies or is removed from power. But he is not suicidal and will take no action that would guarantee his destruction. The best evidence that deterrence works is that we are alive today. Unfortunately, seeking to oust Saddam removes any leverage to prevent him from conducting the sort of attack that the administration claims to fear most, at a time when FBI Director Robert Mueller says that al-Qaeda "is clearly the most urgent threat to U.S. interests." Contrary to the president's rhetoric, attacking Iraq makes more, and more dangerous, terrorist attacks more likely. ■

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[reconquista]

## Mexico's Northern Strategy

Vicente Fox takes active measures to keep Mexico's emigrants from assimilating.

By Howard Sutherland

THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT has a plan: the ongoing Mexicanization of the United States, paid for by Americans. The spectacle of a superpower being colonized by its impotent neighbor is without precedent in modern history. But to nationalist Mexicans nurtured on resentment of the Texas Revolution, Mexican War, and landings at Veracruz, it would be sweet revenge.

A combination of diplomatic chutzpah and sheer weight of bodies is bearing fruit as the United States becomes ever more Latin American, sliding into a multicultural future very few Americans actually want. Political correctness, partisan calculation, and corporate greed combine to prevent any national defense against what has, in the last thirty years, become an invasion. In 1970, the United States' Mexican-born population was no more than 800,000. Today it exceeds 10 million—half of whom are here in violation of U.S. immigration law.

The Mexican policy is not that of an ally, as George W. Bush supposes, but of a demographic invader. It is a greater threat to the national integrity of the United States than anything Saddam Hussein can muster, and the Mexicans pushing it—led by President Vicente Fox and his present and former foreign ministers, Luis Ernesto Derbez and Jorge Castañeda—do not care what harm their plan does to Americans. Nor

do they care that mass emigration hollows out Mexico's interior. It is easier to export stomachs than to fill them.

With few exceptions, American politicians have no plan to counter the Mexican challenge. Most have no idea it exists. Bush insists the United States' most important bilateral relationship is with Mexico, which is true, and that Mexico is an ally on a par with the United Kingdom, which is false.

Vicente Fox took office in December 2000. A month later, George W. Bush came to Washington. On the stump, Fox promised that he would fight for the rights of Mexicans in the United States and change Mexico's constitution to allow them to vote in Mexican elections. He immediately pressed a sympathetic Bush for what Castañeda called "the whole enchilada": regularization of Mexican illegal aliens (always carefully referred to as undocumented migrants—a force of nature rather than criminal intruders); a guest worker program for millions more Mexicans (despite American experience showing such programs only beget more illegal immigration); and an increase in permanent visas.

In spring 2001, Fox published his five-year plan for Mexican development. Amid the policy wonk prose are sections that make clear Fox's agreement with his predecessor Ernesto Zedillo, who spoke of a Greater Mexico consisting of

all Mexicans within and without Mexico's current borders. According to the Fox plan, the Mexican government "has accepted the challenge of serving the 100 million Mexicans who now live in Mexico and the more than 18 million who live abroad." The Fox plan goes on to posit immigration to the United States as a human right: the issue of "migration, especially in the United States, needs a new focus over the long term to permit the movement and residence of Mexican nationals to be safe, comfortable, legal and orderly, and the attitude of police persecution of this phenomenon must be abandoned and it must be perceived as a labor and social phenomenon." In Fox's view, therefore, the United States has no right to preserve itself as a distinct nation. Americans must pay for the health, welfare, and education of all Mexicans who move in while accepting that Mexico will be active in our country reinforcing its emigrants' *mexicanismo*.

Bidding for the loyalty of all Mexicans up north—including Mexican-Americans—Fox set up a Presidential Council for Mexicans Abroad. To run it, he picked UT-Dallas professor Juan Hernández. Unconcerned—for good reason—that his new job might jeopardize his U.S. citizenship (he holds dual nationality), Hernández lobbied aggressively in the United States. On ABC's *Nightline* he said that Mexicans in the



United States need to become more politically active, "like Jews and Puerto Ricans." Making no distinction between Mexican-Americans and Mexican resident aliens, nor between illegal aliens and legal residents, Hernández threw down the gauntlet: "I want the third generation, the seventh generation, I want them all to think 'Mexico first.'"

The Bush administration was receptive. The president endorsed an amnesty for Mexican illegal aliens; Congressional Democrats predictably one-upped him by demanding amnesty for all illegal aliens. Bush and Fox met in September 2001 to prepare the way for America's immigration capitulation, but the following Tuesday, terrorists attacked New York and Washington, and our war on terror sidetracked an immigration deal—temporarily.

Fox muted his rhetoric, but Hernández carried on. In April 2002 he reminded Americans, "Vicente Fox sees the nation of Mexico as being one of 123 million people—100 million people within the borders, and 23 million living outside of Mexico." Aware, however, that September 11th had hardened American attitudes about immigration, Fox closed down OPME and made Hernández his *Coordinador de la Crónica Presidencial*, a court historian to chronicle Mexico's glorious passage to democracy under Fox. Hispanic pressure groups and illegal aliens bewailed OPME's demise, as they have lamented Jorge Castañeda's recent resignation. They need not worry. The shifts are tactical, the strategy unchanged.

Fox is still after the whole enchilada, one way or another. As did Hernández, both Castañeda and Derbez know the foibles of the American elite. Both are American-trained and have lived in the United States, Castañeda at New York University, Derbez at the World Bank. Castañeda long proclaimed the inevitability of Mexican emigration

north, confidently predicting that Americans will tolerate their role as Mexico's social safety valve. In July 2002, he explained Mexico's strategy to the Mexico City daily *Reforma*:

First, making [migration] a central part of our agenda with the United States and opening it to a bilateral negotiation, something we had never managed to do before; second, define and agree [to] the structure the negotiation will take; that is, the five elements that make it up (guest worker program; regularization of Mexicans in the United States; new ceiling on permanent visas for Mexicans; channeling [American] resources to [Mexican] areas of out-migration; and programs to guarantee migrants' security and reduce border violence [i.e., U.S. border enforcement]); and third, build the social and political coalition [in the United States, not Mexico]—legislators of both parties, unions, employees, state and local authorities, civic leaders, non-governmental organizations and means—that we'll need to support negotiations.

Derbez immediately confirmed that he will change none of this: "I see no substantial change between a Derbez

we start with the state and local levels, because the federal government for many reasons is not focused on [immigration] issues." Castañeda put it more bluntly to U.S. Hispanic activists: "You know the age-old saying about how to eat an elephant. You do it a bite at a time." On taking over Castañeda's portfolio, Derbez discussed his view of the enchilada: "...if the whole enchilada is not possible, we can divide it into small *enchiladitas* ... the central issue is to see what size the *enchiladitas* can be to advance the process."

Mexico thus proceeds on three levels: local advocacy inside the United States, direct pressure on the Bush administration, and intervention through international organizations using the human rights of "migrants" as a lever. As Castañeda laughingly told *El Universal* last November, "I like very much the metaphor of Gulliver, of ensnaring the giant. Tying it up, with nails, with thread, with 20,000 nets that bog it down: these nets being norms, principles, resolutions, agreements, and bilateral, regional and international covenants." Taking the cue, the Mexican Senate recently presented a formal complaint to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights accusing the United States of "arbitrarily detaining migrants." Said Sen. Sadot Sánchez, "[W]e cannot accept, under the

**HERNÁNDEZ THREW DOWN THE GAUNTLET: "I WANT THE THIRD GENERATION, THE SEVENTH GENERATION, I WANT THEM ALL TO THINK 'MEXICO FIRST.'"**

chancellorship and the Castañeda chancellorship ... the only thing that can be different is the style of the chancellor." Lamenting the U.S. focus on terrorism and Iraq, Arturo Sarukhan, Castañeda's chief of staff for policy planning, told the *Dallas Morning News*, "[T]hat is why we are thinking of the onion approach. We start with the outer rings,

pretext of combating terrorism, [that] human rights should be violated and the lives of Mexicans put in danger. We cannot allow migration to be associated with delinquency." Sánchez challenged the U.S. Border Patrol directly: "We won't allow undocumented Mexicans to be hunted down like animals." Derbez is petitioning the International Court of

Justice on behalf of Mexican convicts on American death rows. This Mexican "human rights" crusade, designed to make enforcement of U.S. immigration laws a violation of international law, is supported by the AFL-CIO, the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Mexico City, who exhorted Mexicans to show greater unity against the hard-hearted *norteamericanos*.

**FOX SAID, "WE INTEND A GREAT UNION BETWEEN THOSE MEXICANS WHO ARE OUTSIDE OUR COUNTRY AND THOSE OF US HERE INSIDE."**

While condemning the Americans' failure to open our southern border completely, Mexico continues to sidestep our half-hearted attempts at enforcement. In recent years, Mexican consulates have revived a government ID card called the *matricula consular*. Its stated purpose is to allow Mexicans without passports to identify themselves. Castañeda in *Reforma* again: "The Mexican government will keep pushing forward ... the acceptance of the new *matricula consular* as an official means of identification that will permit Mexicans in the United States to open bank accounts, obtain driver's licenses and other forms of identification, or access public education in a preferred status." As legal residents have the documents to do these things, this is an admission that the revived *matricula*'s real purpose is to make illegal immigration easier.

Thanks to the cravenness of local governments, the cupidity of banks, and an utter lack of federal response, the *matricula consular* is succeeding beyond Castañeda's hopes. The breakthrough came in November 2001, when, after intense direct lobbying by the Mexican foreign ministry, Wells Fargo Bank and the San Francisco Board of Supervi-

sors agreed to accept the *matricula* as official identification. By the end of 2002, more than 80 U.S. banks had agreed to open accounts on the strength of the *matricula*, while over 800 U.S. police departments now accept it as valid ID and will not refer holders to the INS. To save illegal aliens a trip to the consulate, Mexican consular officials set up *matricula* mills in Hispanic chambers of commerce, church halls,

and parochial and public schools. A federal breakthrough for the *matricula* came with new House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi's (D-Calif.) insistence that San Francisco's Burton Federal Building accept it as valid ID for entrance, so that her "constituents" may have easier access to services.

The usual excuses for accepting the *matricula* include allowing police to gain the trust of the "immigrant community" by reassuring illegal aliens that police will not turn them over to *la migra* and, as Boulder, Colo. assistant director of human services Richard Johnson avers, because "they're here and contributing to the community." For banks, it is just business, with a warm and fuzzy "diversity" gloss. The INS response is the dazed indifference one expects. Spokesman Bill Strassberger: "The document is not a bad thing, really, as long as it's used strictly for identification." The *matricula*'s reliability as identification is dubious. Its revival has birthed a booming black market in bogus Mexican birth certificates. The INS acknowledged that one man in Denver had three *matriculas* when arrested, all issued by the same consulate. All bore his photograph, but each had a different name and address.

Vicente Fox is augmenting the *matricula*'s inroads by replacing OPME with a National Council for Mexican Communities Abroad. The council, headed by Fox himself, consists of 100 Mexican-Americans and Mexicans resident in the United States, selected by Mexican consuls. Introducing it on his radio show (broadcast in the United States), Fox said, "[O]ur communities abroad exceed the number of 20 million people of Mexican origin who embrace four generations. Our task is to look after, serve and contribute to the protection and promotion of every one of them. ... We intend a great union between those Mexicans who are outside our country and those of us here inside." His Mexican-American members agree. Los Angeles County Superior Court Judge Teresa Sánchez-Gordon: "It's very important to me ... that judges' perspectives on Mexicans improve; that we educate judges about the culture, the psychology, the feelings of Mexicans, so they can better understand the dynamic of our people in California." This American judge's "our people" are not the American people.

The Mexican propaganda offensive proceeds on other fronts. In November and December 2002, a series of virtually identical opinion pieces appeared in newspapers across the United States. Credited in each case to a local Mexican consular official, the planted column touts the purported benefits to U.S. national security of "regularizing" illegal aliens while claiming America has an "urgent need for Mexican laborers in a wide range of agricultural and service sector jobs." More subtly, the Fox government is underwriting an ongoing series of cultural exhibitions and museum shows in the United States to polish Mexico's image among Americans. According to Ignacio Durán, cultural minister at the Mexican embassy, "Mexico considers this a very effective

instrument. People who appreciate the culture of a country begin to identify with that country."

At a time when the United States needs an unequivocal advocate of American interests in Mexico City, George W. Bush has sent just the opposite. Tony Garza, the president's choice for ambassador to Mexico, is a comforting reminder to Mexicans that administration policy will be driven by the Republican Party's quixotic quest for Hispanic votes. Garza is a Texas political pal, Gov. Bush's secretary of state and border liaison. Once in Mexico, he did not disappoint the Mexican pundits who had cheered his appointment. To *Reforma*, Garza said he "would like to see us have a debate to legalize these people who have been part of our community. I believe we should recognize them, giving them some sort of status." As for U.S. citizenship for illegal aliens, Garza told *El Universal*, "[T]hat can be sought as part of another process, without discrimination." As someone close to Bush and personally interested in Mexican immigration, Garza's statements no doubt reflect Bush's wishes.

Assisted by American indifference, Mexico is peeling the onion. And other countries are catching onto the immigration racket: the United States is a gigantic job fair and welfare office for all the world, not a true nation that will defend its borders, its cultural integrity, and the livelihoods of its citizens. Guatemala began issuing a *matricula consular* in September. El Salvador, Honduras, and Poland have followed suit. Having accepted Mexican undermining of U.S. immigration law for so long, how can the administration object—if it were so inclined? The Bush administration's crackdown on terrorism obscures the fact that it has done nothing—"Homeland Security" bureaucracy notwithstanding—to curb the influx of illegal aliens or to detect and

deport those already here. One slight, probably temporary, show of backbone came in January 2003 as the Departments of State and Homeland Security agreed to "review" the Mexican and other consular ID cards. The review is due to pressure from Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.) and other House immigration reformers, not to any particular concern within the Bush administration. Still, for the moment Nancy Pelosi's "constituents" cannot get into San Francisco's Federal Building on the strength of their *matriculas* alone.

Today's U.S.-Mexico relationship is gravely debilitating for both countries. Mexico has become a parasite nation, so dependent on America that its rulers fight to send their people north to work as peons and become public charges. Its unhealthy dependence drains Mexico of

able-bodied people while allowing the country's oligarchs to avoid genuine reform. They ease their humiliations by attempting a cultural conquest of the despised *gringo* superpower. America, hobbled by multiculturalism, is largely inert in the face of the Mexican demographic challenge. Conditioned by the media, politicians, and a failed education system to see America as no more than a nation of immigrants, how can Americans object to more ... immigrants?

Mexico cannot make the United States a new Mexico. But if Americans will not resist the demographic challenge and end Mexican meddling in American affairs, Mexico could be the end of an American United States. ■

*Howard Sutherland is an attorney in New York.*

## Big Government, Big War

Bush's Lyndon Johnson budget

**By Joe Bob Briggs**

THE FIRST LINE of Fearless Leader's budget, which was just hoisted onto a mule team and carried over to Congress, should have been, "It was the worst of times. It was the worst of times." Talk about a tortured brooding monster of a novel. In fact, the 2004 budget is longer than any novel I've ever read. *War and Peace* is only 1,350 pages. This beats Tolstoy all to hell, though the title in this case would be *War and War*.

"We remain at war," it tells us in the second paragraph, "with an enemy that seeks to use murder, stealth, and fear against all free nations." Well, OK, I guess there won't be much in here about

the price of toner cartridges, will there? The word "terrorism" is used so many times that I tried an experiment. I looked for a chapter in the budget that was so far removed from war that it couldn't possibly have anything to do with terrorism just to see if terrorism would be mentioned.

For example, the Department of Agriculture chapter: Amber waves of grain, right? Brangus cattle-breeding programs, right? No. The very first priority in the Agricultural budget is to beef up the Food Safety and Inspection Service. Of course, in these post-9/11 times, the number one goal of the USDA is protecting our food supply against terrorism.



In fact, the Agriculture chapter is kind of Rod Serlingesque, with descriptions of underground caves in Kansas City where they store 1.2 billion pounds of nonfat dry milk in bags. It's also the chapter with the giant picture—yes, they have photos!—of the Asian long-horned beetle, the Osama Bin Laden of Agriculture, threatening to burrow into our precious flora and destroy it before we can locate all the sleeper cells and destroy them.

The first theme of the tome is war, war, war. The second theme is poor, poor, poor. There's one thing I don't understand no matter how many times it's explained to me—and they explain it several times in the budget. They say that we *need* to have a budget deficit of \$307 billion. The government will spend \$2.1 trillion in 2003, but that's not enough. The second part of this equation is: Let's cut taxes! Bush has another get-\$1,000-in-the-mail tax cut in there, but listen to these monster figures: we've already promised to pay \$5 trillion to Social Security that we don't have. But that's nothing compared to Medicare. We've promised to pay \$13 trillion to Medicare that we don't have.

THE FIRST THEME OF THE TOME IS **WAR, WAR, WAR**. THE SECOND THEME IS **POOR, POOR, POOR**.

Add those two together, and it's five times the national debt or eight times the total amount of government spending last year, which is less than government spending this year. But here's the clincher: let's start paying for everyone's prescription drugs too. It's only \$18 trillion, and what's another trillion or two? Don't we end up with Confederate money if we do that?

I'm only talking about the part of the budget they call "mandatory," meaning we have to pay out this money someday

whether we like it or not. To pay for it the honest way, we would have to increase everyone's taxes about \$3,000 per person per year.

We spend a third of the budget on Social Security and Medicare, but the money only goes to 14 percent of the population. That's why, they solemnly say, we should solve the Social Security and Medicare financing problem. No solution offered.

Other things they're proud of: in 2002, 10 percent of all "individually billed travel accounts" were delinquent. Ten percent of the people who made business trips for the government charged pay-per-view movies in the hotel room and refused to pay the money back? The president wants to get rid of 10,000 government vehicles. (Don't get too excited. There are 576,400 other government vehicles.) We have something called the "Train and Equip" program in the Republic of Georgia that involves teaching soldiers how to lie down in the grass and fire machine guns. (There are pictures to prove it.) There are 15 charities that support terrorism. There are 2.5 million federal credit cards, and at one agency \$4 million was spent on unau-

thorized purchases from pawn shops, jewelry stores, and antique shops.

I'm actually starting to have fun here, in spite of the unimaginative chapter arrangement—alphabetical by Cabinet department. Hence in the tiny Department of Commerce (total budget only \$5.8 billion, compared to \$358 billion for Defense), we learn that it will soon take the government 45 months to process a patent. We also learn that there were 70 tornados last year, one of which destroyed the movie theater in Van

Wert, Ohio, (great photo of wrecked cars on top of the theater seats), but the good news is that accurate forecasting saved everyone's lives.

The pace picks up with Defense. Stryker Brigades! F-22 fighter jets! Hell-fire missiles! A picture of F-16s flying over Detroit! A picture of the new volleyball court in Qatar! (A little bit of a downer in the section about chemical weapons destruction. Despite international treaties, we're sort of, uh, not doing it.)

The Energy Department chapter has a beautiful photo of scenic Yucca Mountain in Nevada at sunset—a little jarring when you realize it's the new nuclear-waste depository. I always thought the Energy Department was a place where they tinkered around with electric cars and kept track of natural gas deposits, but ... not anymore! We're talking "stockpile stewardship"—taking care of the nukes we might need later.

The first priority at Health & Human Services is—guess what?—"bioterrorism preparedness." Interesting sidebar: they noticed that 6 million people reported gambling income on their tax returns last year, so they want to go after that money for back child support. Why gambling profits would suddenly turn on the "deadbeat dad" light bulb is not explained.

The most amusing organizational charts are both in the Homeland Security chapter. The first chart is designed to show how confusing it was when there were 22 separate agencies all reporting to different people. The second chart, with the new reorganized Homeland Security Department, shows the same 22 separate agencies with arrows pointing among them in a pattern that is ... just as confusing!

Housing & Urban Development has the best sense of humor of any of the departments as evidenced by the chapter subheading, "Remember the HUD

you saw on *The Sopranos*? Fact or Fiction?" And then you read on to find out the answer is ... fact. There really was a HUD scam like the one depicted on the hit series. But they have victories as well. It's now the end of the 10-year Revitalization of Severely Distressed Public Housing program, and they won't be renewing it. Perhaps the statistics give an indication why. They demolished 115,000 units and only built 60,000 new ones. I don't think the word there is "revitalization."

Weirdest photo choice goes to the Department of Justice: crop dusters. They're trying to make a point about failed terrorists who thought about using crop dusters to spread nerve agents. When you break Justice down in money terms, it's all about prisons. They spend 29 percent of their budget on prisons and, by the way, they need seven more.

Even the best books start to drag in the middle, so I'll skip over Labor (can't get as excited about job training programs as they do) and just hit the highlights on State: Big money coming next year for Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. Please identify these on a map to verify they're real countries before drafting the checks. And there's \$30 million for the new Middle East TV network. This could get nasty, especially if they start piping *The Bachelorette* into Iran.

Transportation is all about highways and highways, but there's an interesting little digression into the Essential Air Service program, which provides subsidies to 114 small airports that otherwise wouldn't have air service. To show you how well the tiny-airport program is doing, last year 3.7 people per day boarded planes at the airport in Utica, N.Y. at a cost to the government of \$455 per passenger.

I have to admit that my eyes started to glaze over as I raced through Veterans Affairs, the Corps of Engineers (all the

locks and dams are mired in cost overruns), and the Environmental Protection Agency (according to this, the air and water are perfectly pure 24/7), in order to get to NASA. Hardly anything about the space shuttle, but a long passage on space alien research, which, these guys say, indicates there may be Something Out There, with signs of organic life on Mars, Jupiter, and 90 stars.

Memo to future budget writers: you need a big closer. This one just kind of peters out, running quickly through fascinating institutions such as the Commodities Futures Trading Commission, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and appendages like the

National Endowment for the Arts and the National Archives and Records Administration. It concludes with that old Depression-era standby, the Tennessee Valley Authority, which was boring even to socialists in the 1930s. Don't we need something apocalyptic at the end of this morose budget? Oh, right, I forgot—it's understood.

There's nothing about the money we might need for the war in Iraq. They'll add that in the cheap paperback version this summer. ■

*Joe Bob Briggs is a columnist for United Press International.*

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# Why NASA Failed

Space exploration is too important to leave to a bureaucratic behemoth.

**By Martin Sieff**

A GIGANTIC SOCIALIZED bureaucracy fails repeatedly at the project it is given billions of dollars to do. Finally, it suffers a catastrophic accident it cannot cover up or explain away that costs the lives of its best and brightest. And what does the President of the United States do? He pledges to boost its budget by at least half a billion dollars a year so that the unscientific, uneconomical programs it has been imposing upon its clients can continue unabated.

Who was this president, you ask? Surely, some big government liberal like Lyndon Johnson or Jimmy Carter or even Bill Clinton using his golden tongue to justify yet another pork barrel boondoggle? No, the president in ques-

tion was George W. Bush, that oft proclaimed heir of Ronald Reagan, and the boondoggle in question is one over which Republican presidents have swooned even more than Democrats—the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and its catastrophic space shuttle program.

Even before the space shuttle Columbia disintegrated in those awful balls of fire over Texas, the costs of the shuttle program had proven truly catastrophic. To date, 14 astronauts have died on shuttles. The program has cost a quarter of a trillion dollars in 25 years. After all that, U.S. capabilities in space remain only a fraction of what they were a decade before the first

shuttle mission was ever launched. The shuttle is dangerous, expensive, militarily useless, and loathed by scientists for very good reasons. Yet like any Great Society bureaucracy or any Soviet Gosplan state enterprise, NASA continues to crush any vestige of economic sense or scientific rationality or practical effectiveness out of the space program.

This is not yet another liberal jeremiad against manned space exploration. On the contrary, manned space exploration is too important to be left to the Russians, on whom the United States will now be dependent for the foreseeable future to provide the lift-off rockets and spacecraft to build and provision the International Space Station. And it is too important to be left to the Chinese, who seriously plan to have a permanent Moon base within seven to 10 years, and who are too sensible to waste any time on a shuttle or any other supposedly reusable space toy.

## **NO ORGANIZATION HAS DONE MORE TO KEEP AMERICA OUT OF SPACE FOR THE PAST 30 YEARS THAN NASA.**

If anything, no organization has done more to keep America out of space for the past 30 years than NASA, and no program has been more decisive in achieving that end than the space shuttle.

Consider: the space shuttle fleet is down from five spacecraft 20 years ago to only three now. The other two were both destroyed in catastrophic accidents during missions, costing the lives of all astronauts on board. The shuttle has now claimed more lives than all the other American and Soviet/Russian spacecraft fatalities combined since manned space travel began with cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin 42 years

ago. By contrast, the clunky old Soviet/Russian space program has not lost a life in space in more than a quarter of a century.

The remaining three shuttles are now 20 years or more old. As Gregg Easterbrook tellingly noted on *Time.com* after the Columbia disaster, we in the United States insist on school buses being replaced every decade, yet NASA and its congressional supporters seriously believe the remaining shuttles can be safely and reliably operated for another 20 years—making a near half-century of multiple-gravitational-force take-offs and atmospheric re-entries at 20 times the speed of sound and six to nine times the speed of a fired bullet. This defies belief.

The space shuttle, even more fundamentally, is a colossal scam and has been since it was first triumphantly flown 22 years ago. The shuttle was meant to reduce the astronomical costs of space flight to cost-effective propor-

tions precisely because it was reusable. Instead, the shuttle design was so over-ambitious for the technology of the time that it proved to be—and has remained—far, far more expensive to operate than a steady supply of BDBs, or Big Dumb Boosters, increasingly cheap regular launch vehicles like the reliable Proton workhorse rockets Russia has long relied on for its space program, or the new boosters that the Chinese are slowly and patiently developing. America had a fleet of such boosters in the 1970s, but NASA shut down production on all of them to make room for the shuttle.

Instead of making space travel cheap,

the shuttle has therefore kept it expensive. Each flight costs a billion dollars. Instead of making space travel as regular and available as a bus, the shuttle has made it as unattainable for practical purposes as cheap travel on the Anglo-French supersonic Concorde—another engineer's dream white elephant with which it has much in common. NASA sold Congress on the original shuttle program by promising the shuttle fleet would provide 24 space missions per year. Instead, before Columbia disintegrated, they launched just six. If any of the remaining three ever fly again, there will probably be far fewer annual flights scheduled.

Much has always been made of the priceless science done on the shuttle. But the U.S. scientific community has always hated it. That is because the “good” science that has been done has been achieved because the shuttle provided a floating, weightless platform in space to conduct experiments and observe the earth. But the shuttle is not capable of staying in orbit for more than a couple of weeks. (Had the catastrophic damage to the Columbia somehow been recognized and confirmed in flight, the seven astronauts would have choked to death within a few days anyway because they had no significant reserves of oxygen left, and NASA had no capability of readying another shuttle to rescue them in time.)

As for valuable science, far more was done on the cheap, creaking, and old—but amazingly cost-effective—Soviet/Russian Mir space station than was ever done on the shuttle. Above all, as respected space analysts like James Oberg have repeatedly pointed out, this was because long-term experiments and observations, especially building up a corpus of medical knowledge about the long-term effects of weightlessness on the human body, are the most crucial science that can be done in space. Rus-



sia now has a more than 20-year advantage over the United States in this vital area thanks to its ability over the past two decades to keep cosmonauts in space for more than 300 days at a time, in contrast to 14-16 days, which is all NASA can offer its crews on the shuttle.

PRESIDENT BUSH SHOULD MOVE TO **BREAK UP NASA** AND MAINTAIN ITS **KEY FUNCTIONS** SEPARATELY IN **SMALLER, MORE FLEXIBLE, AND MORE ACCOUNTABLE** FORMS.

Nor does the shuttle explore space. It scratches the surface. It never flies more than 200 miles above the surface of the earth. Draw a radius with a compass 200 miles out from your own city or home and see how far you get. By contrast, 30 years ago, U.S. astronauts were routinely flying a quarter of a million miles to the moon and coming home again. And on the one occasion a catastrophic accident happened, on the Apollo 13 spacecraft in 1971, the flight engineers of a then young, dynamic, and idealistic NASA were able to bring them and their craft home safely. U.S. space vehicle designs then were far more robust—and simply far better—than the shuttle is now.

Nor did the U.S. military community like the shuttle. The U.S. Air Force fought ferociously against it before being overruled—as they often were in those days, Jimmy Carter being president at the time. The Air Force was not happy with the colossal costs of the shuttle program or with the over-ambitious and super-optimistic assessments of what the adventurous, untried technology it represented could do. They did not want engineer's dreams but just simple, straightforward rockets that would take their surveillance and communications satellites up to orbit and bring them down again. Why, then, was

the shuttle program approved, and why has it been slavishly pursued all these years?

This happened because, as invariably occurs when huge state-run and state-supported organizations are allowed to foil the free market—and common

sense—by covering up their own bumbles and making incestuous deals in their own interests, NASA had become such a huge bureaucracy and had concluded such sweetheart deals with the few mega-monster aerospace conglomerates in the U.S. space industry, that it had become an unstoppable juggernaut. Writing back in 1988, the great physicist Freeman Dyson—not exactly a conservative in his political views—described the socialistic fallacies of NASA in imposing the shuttle program:

The fundamental mistake of the Shuttle program was the dogmatic insistence of NASA that this single launch system was to take care of all the customers regardless of their needs. Few of the customers wanted the Shuttle. The space-science community hated the Shuttle because it deprived us of the frequent and flexible launch opportunities that science requires. The military hated the Shuttle for similar reasons. The industrial customers, who need the Shuttle mostly for launching communications satellites, hated it less but they too would have preferred a choice between several launch systems with more flexible schedules.

And Dyson concluded,

We have learned that the right way to drive a computer (or space) industry is to find out first what the customers need and then design the machines to do it. The customers want many kinds of things, so we build many kinds of computers. Most of the customers' have modest needs, and therefore most of the computers are small and cheap. These lessons are just as valid in space as they are here on the ground. Customers' needs should drive the industry, not engineer's dreams. The Shuttle was an engineer's dream.

Over the past 25 years, NASA's shuttle program was imposed regardless of customers' needs, good science, or simple common sense, and it has proved as devastating to the U.S. space program as Soviet planning proved to the now long defunct evil empire.

The space program, manned as well as unmanned, should not be abandoned. But the disastrous shuttle should be permanently consigned to the scrap heap, and crash programs should be launched to develop a new generation of Big Dumb Booster workhorse rockets as quickly as possible to replace it. Most of all, President Bush should move to break up NASA and maintain its key functions separately in smaller, more flexible, and more accountable forms. The big behemoth has never changed for the better despite all its repeatedly honeyed assurances that it would do so. And it never will. It was a product of 1960s Big Government, welfare society liberalism, and it has survived even after the catastrophic welfare system of that era was finally reformed. It has no place in 21st-century America. ■

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# Arts & Letters

## FILM

[Academy Awards]

### *The Envelope, Please*

By Steve Sailer

THE ENDLESS PRESEASON of movie awards made the announcement of the Oscar nominations anti-climactic in its predictability. With the pulse of the movie world having been taken so often, there were virtually no surprises.

The best news was probably that the low-budget biopic "Frida" received a lot of deserved recognition in the technical categories. And, the Academy voters overcame their notorious prejudice against comedies to give four nominations to "Adaptation," that pretentious but self-lampooning piece of well-constructed fluff.

Overall, though, the Academy's choices were uninspired. Almost all nominations, even in lesser categories like Editing, Cinematography, and Costume, went to a small number of movies released late in 2002.

The five Best Picture choices, all debuting in December, garnered over half of the nominations available to non-specialty pictures: 45 of 83 nods. "Chicago" won 13 nominations; "Gangs of New York," 10; "The Hours," nine; "The Pianist," seven; and "Lord of the Rings: The Two Towers," six.

Four additional movies captured 20 more nominations: "Road to Perdition" (which was released in July) with six; "Frida" (October) six; "Far from Heaven" (November) four; and "Adaptation"

(December) four. In all, these top nine movies garnered 78 percent of the nominations available to them.

Academy voters showered nominations willy-nilly on the Best Picture nominees, making little effort to search out excellence in other films. For instance, the Best Editing nominations simply went to each of the Big Five.

Even notoriously poor efforts were rewarded. For example, the trouble-plagued script of "Gangs of New York" was widely derided for failing the basic test of Screenwriting 101: making the audience care about the main characters. Nevertheless, the Academy gifted it with a Best Original Screenplay nod.

Phillip Glass's repetitious and overbearing score for "The Hours" drove many innocent audience members to distraction, yet it too was honored. And even though Julianne Moore gathered a merited Best Actress nod for "Far from Heaven," the Academy felt it had to heap a Supporting Actress nomination on her as well for her performance as the crazy lady in "The Hours." Once, when the movie shifted back to her character, my wife and I turned to each other and simultaneously said, "Oh, no, not her again!"

On the other hand, strong efforts were seldom recognized if they came in movies that didn't fit the Oscar profile of serious, worthy, end-of-year films for grown-ups. (You know, movies that make the Academy members feel good about themselves.)

For example, the cinematography in August's "Blue Crush" was literally tubular, but so what? No way, no how was the Academy going to call attention to a surfer chick flick. Similarly, "Spider-Man" made \$404 million in the late spring, but star Tobey Maguire couldn't buy a Best Actor nomination. The family

sci-fi movie "Signs" earned \$228 million in the late summer, but Joaquin Rivers was denied Best Supporting Actor recognition. In coming years, the most obvious injustice in the voting will likely be considered the complete shutout of Paul Thomas Anderson's odd but amazing "Punch-Drunk Love" with Adam Sandler.

The Academy's seasonal bias was particularly evident this year. December movies brought home 65 percent of the nominations. In contrast, all the movies released in the first half of 2002 combined for less than ten percent of the honors. Among the 30 most prestigious nominations (five each for Best Picture and Best Director and the 20 acting slots), only Diane Lane's Best Actress nod for "Unfaithful" was for a movie from the first half of the year.

There's little question that the largest number of quality movies was released in the fourth quarter, nor that the first four months of 2002 were particularly dire. But voters have a back-scratching monetary incentive to hype films still in the theaters because those can financially benefit the most from the publicity. Most films released in the first half of the year are not only out of the theaters by now but are already out on video. So, giving them nominations won't help them make more money.

Still, the voters' bias in favor of December movies contributes to a vicious cycle. Studios know that early-in-the-year movies have little chance of winning an Oscar, so they have less incentive to make them better. In turn, that feeds the self-fulfilling stereotype that nothing worth nominating comes out before the end of daylight savings time in October. Another advantage December movies enjoy is that voters don't have enough time to realize what's wrong with them.

In contrast, July's "Road to Perdition" was a technically spectacular achievement that well deserves its numerous nominations for Cinematography, Score, Art Direction, and other minor categories. But it brought home zip in the Best Picture, Best Director, and Best Actor races because enough time has gone by for everyone to recognize that its basic premise—Tom Hanks plays a good-hearted hitman!—was too lame to be redeemed even by all the movie magicians who lent a hand.

More unfair was the discourteous treatment of Steven Spielberg's often brilliant "Minority Report." Despite making \$132 million at the box office and finishing second in the RottenTomatoes.com ranking of the most often positively reviewed movies of 2002, this June sci-fi release was dismissed with Oscar nominations in just two piddling categories (Sound Editing and Visual Effects). Yet, back in the early summer, the entertainment press rapturously praised "Minority Report" as a devastating attack on Attorney General John Ashcroft's policy of detention of potential terrorists.

In "Minority Report," Washington, D.C. has not suffered a single murder in years because mutants working for the police can foresee murders before they happen, allowing Tom Cruise to arrest killers before they strike. The film's premise is that if this implausible system were ever shown to have made a single mistake, then we would automatically junk it and go back to the good old-fashioned system. This briefly excited the many civil libertarian absolutists in the media, but the logic didn't stand up. Since our current system allows tens of thousands of murders, fails to catch thousands of killers, and condemns dozens of innocent men, even a fallible precognition system would be an overwhelming improvement.

Personally, I left the theater wishing that General Ashcroft had his own magical mutant method for preventing terrorism. In fact, Spielberg understood all this. Thus, after the happy ending, he originally placed a devastating text

crawl saying that the year after precognition was outlawed, there were 600 murders in Washington, D.C. Unfortunately, Spielberg wimped out and cut this ironic coda, earning him some cheap applause from anti-Ashcroft folks but damaging his film in the long run.

In contrast, most of the Best Picture nominees haven't been around long enough for their flaws to sink in.

The frontrunner "Chicago" is a perfectly fine movie, with lots of strong performances. As a musical, however, its score and choreography are mediocre. You don't leave the theater humming its tunes. And director Rob Marshall dumped most of Bob Fosse's choreography and replaced it with something that's adequate but looks suspiciously like what Fosse might have done if he wasn't a genius. I suppose, though, that the adulation for "Chicago" can be justified as a morally worthy conspiracy to revive the much missed movie musical genre. Let's just hope the next musical has some good melodies.

"The Pianist" is a quite good film bumped up into Oscar contention because it's about the Holocaust. (The Academy has given four of its last five Oscars for Best Feature Documentary to films about Jews being persecuted.) That Adrien Brody got a Best Actor nomination for playing a passive victim staring sadly while Hugh Grant's masterful turn in "About a Boy" went unrecognized is just another example of the Oscar bias against comedies.

"Gangs of New York" is a colorful train wreck of a movie that keeps lurching out of Martin Scorsese's control and developing an unintended anti-immigration message. Even on a shot-by-shot, it's not very good Scorsese.

"The Hours" is an incoherent, annoying mess. Taken literally, its lesson is that homosexuality is a symptom of suicidal mental illness and that it is socially communicated by Virginia Woolf (Nicole Kidman) through her novel *Mrs. Dalloway* to a housewife (Julianne Moore), who infects her son (who grows up to be Ed Harris), who gives it to his one-time girlfriend (Meryl Streep), who

becomes a lesbian. Personally, I don't know what causes homosexuality, but I'd bet against novels. "The Hours" exemplifies one of this year's main trends in movies favored by the Academy: the casting of flagrantly heterosexual stars as not very plausible homosexuals or bisexuals. (Others include Salma Hayek in "Frida" and Dennis Quaid in "Far from Heaven.")

That leaves "The Two Towers," which did the worst of the Big Five with only six nominations. The heroic Peter Jackson was even locked out of the Best Director race. Yet, "The Two Towers" was broadly felt to be even better than last year's first installment, "The Fellowship of the Ring," which received thirteen nominations. "The Two Towers" made more money (it's the second biggest film of the year) and beat "Minority Report" to be the movie most widely praised by critics.

Still, it's unlikely to win Best Picture. Apparently, the voters figure, not unreasonably, that next December's climactic episode, "The Return of the King," will be the best of the bunch. So, they will probably postpone bestowing the Best Picture and Best Director Oscars on this magnificent series until next year. ■

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## BOOKS

[*The Politics of Deviance*, Anne Hendershott, Encounter Books, 194 pages]

## The Deviance of Politics

By Jeremy Lott

WHEN FORMER SEN. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) delivered his now famous "Defining Deviancy Down" address to the 1992 American Sociological Association convention—in which he worried that "the amount of deviant behavior in American society has increased beyond the levels the community can afford to recognize"—he was met with what University of San Diego sociologist Anne Hendershott describes as "subdued applause." While most in the audience were not dumb enough to challenge an enthusiastic supporter of funding for the social sciences directly, they were not only unreceptive to his speech but uncomprehending as well.

In fact, Moynihan's use of the word "deviance" dated him more effectively than if he had stepped onto the dais wearing sideburns, bellbottoms, and a mood ring. Though the senator was once a card-carrying sociologist of some renown, he had apparently missed the direction that his field had taken since he had entered government service during the first Nixon administration. Following such iconoclasts as Howard Becker and C. Wright Mills, the idea of deviance had come to be understood purely in terms of power. Defining deviance was seen as yet another way for those in control to differentiate themselves from and to oppress those who were not.

Its usage subsequently dropped out of the normal jargon of sociology. Hendershott explains, "[I]n the aftermath of the radical egalitarianism of the 1960s, merely to label a behavior as deviant

came to be viewed as rejecting the equality—perhaps the very humanity—of those engaging in it." Unwilling to row against the currents, most sociologists tossed the offending idea from their analysis. To the extent that the field did touch on the idea of deviance after the mid-'70s, it did so in an explicitly Marxist manner. Attention shifted, Hendershott writes,

from the criminal, the drug addict, the mentally ill and the homeless to those who were seen to have branded them as deviant, or "caused" their deviance. Greedy landlords were viewed as the deviants who caused homelessness, while a punitive criminal justice system that targeted the poor and the oppressed was viewed as the cause of crime.

It is tempting—and, oh is it ever—to retort that some things are so stupid that only a sociologist could believe them. Hendershott sensibly points out, however, that the redefinition of deviance did not originate with sociology and has had much more wide-ranging influence than her academic discipline could have mustered by its own increasingly irrelevant self.

In the nine tightly written chapters between introduction and conclusion, *The Politics of Deviance* scrutinizes the methods by which those behaviors or states of mind that had been thought deviant (e.g., chronic drunkenness, addiction, dementia, rape, pederasty, and suicide) have been "defined down" while older, more traditional modes of belief and practice have been stigmatized. The result is a study that is perceptive without being overly philosophical, educated but not pretentious, and, above all, sensible. If more sociologists wrote like this, the discipline would be much more difficult to ridicule.

Take mental illness. At the goading of an ever-growing number of "mental health advocates," insane asylums were emptied and shuttered in the 1970s. Theoretically plausible arguments—that the inmates were often mistreated;

that they could live normal lives as long as they took medication—were hitched to the new notion that mental illness was a myth that served the interest of the elites. Sociologists like Berkeley's Erving Goffman argued that the odd behavior that the inmates manifested was largely a product of the "oppressive patterns of social control to which they were subjected"—they were insane because they were in an asylum. Some even argued that the so-called mentally ill were rebels against the oppressive and hypocritical conventions of society. One of the funniest moments of the book relates a story from the biography of radical psychiatrist R.D. Laing, who

was invited by some doctors to examine a young girl diagnosed as schizophrenic. The girl was locked into a padded cell in a special hospital and sat there naked. She usually spent the whole day rocking to and fro. The doctors asked Laing for his opinion. What would he do about her? Unexpectedly, Laing stripped off naked himself and entered her cell. There he sat with her, rocking in time to her rhythm.

That sad thing is that the perverse arguments of Laing & Co. carried the field and still do to some extent. Those muttering, smelly (mostly) men who survive in most downtown cores by panhandling, giving unwanted window washes, and eating out of dumpsters would have been locked up, medicated, and cared for as late as the 1960s. Thanks to a Supreme Court ruling (*O'Connor v. Donaldson*) and subsequent lower court expansions, it is now very difficult to institutionalize such persons.

Consequently, even schizoids with long histories of violence end up roaming the streets, and homeless or mental health advocates loudly protest any time somebody points out the obvious public safety risks that they pose to themselves and others. In 1999, when Andrew Goldstein pushed a young woman onto the tracks as a subway train was approaching, killing her, the

National Alliance for the Mentally Ill painted Goldstein as a "victim" as well—of his own mind. A press release reminded the media that "the treatment success rate for schizophrenia is 60 percent higher" than the success rate for heart disease. Hendershott remarks dryly that the analysis is flawed because "when treatment fails for heart patients, no one dies except the heart patient."

The Goldstein case is important because it points to a very American "backdoor way" that citizens have found "of reestablishing such behavior as deviant": sue the bastards. The dead girl's mother, noting that Goldstein had a history of violent, incoherent behavior, sued seven different medical institutions to the tune of \$70 million for putting him back out on the streets. (It also seems to force open the front door as well: seeing the real possibility of hospitals falling over like bowling pins to future lawsuits, the New York State legislature finally passed a law giving the courts the teeth to require involuntary institutionalization of mentally ill individuals who will not take their medication.)

## A REDEFINITION OF DEVIANCE WAS IMPOSED ON AN UNWITTING CITIZENRY BY THE COURTS, BUREAUCRATS, POLITICIANS, AND A WHOLE GENERATION OF REFORM-MINDED PROFESSIONALS.

If *The Politics of Deviance* has one debilitating flaw, it is the failure to show the extent to which a redefinition of deviance was at first externally imposed on an unwitting citizenry by the courts, bureaucrats, politicians, and a whole generation of reform-minded professionals. Bums did not become "homeless persons," more to be studied than pitied because Joe Taxpayer suddenly saw the error of his ways. "Homeless advocates" and "mental health professionals"—often with vested financial interests—drummed it into our heads and cluster-mailed newspapers that didn't play ball. Likewise, rape did not suddenly cease to be something that was uniquely heinous—often punishable by the death penalty. It was instead watered

down by campus feminists, who cried "date rape" in instances where the term did not apply.

Then again, the omission may have been intentional. Hendershott documents several instances of resistance to what we might call the deviance of politics—misguided attempts to override older, judgmental mores by bureaucrats and experts—but there are also a surprising number of ways in which "the people" have gone along with the redefinition.

Though she is skeptical of the War on Drugs and other quixotic attempts at substance prohibition, Hendershott warns that medicalizing it could be worse. Framing addiction as a disease to be treated (e.g., therapy, methadone, needle exchanges) rather than as a deviant behavior to be overcome might be foolhardy, but that seems to be the consensus we are drifting toward. For addicts, it removes the responsibility of overcoming the abuse. More importantly, guilt-stricken parents and relatives—surely a much more substantial portion of the population—also get a pass. Similarly, assisted suicide offers family mem-

bers a cheap way to put their parents out of their misery without the bother of taking care of them in their final, painful, and often expensive months.

*The Politics of Deviance* will probably be criticized for not providing a solution to the current state of things, but its clearheaded analysis is more valuable than any other half-dozen soon-to-be-remaindered wonkish attempts to set society straight. As the literature of one of the judgmental holdouts explains, the first step to recovery is admitting that you have a problem. ■

Jeremy Lott is production director of the Report and co-author (with Rev. Dr. Lawrence VanBeek) of the forthcoming book, *The Case for Enoch*.

[*The Culture of Critique*, Kevin MacDonald, 1stBooks, 466 pages]

## The Marx of the Anti-Semites

By John Derbyshire

ONE EVENING EARLY on in my career as an opinion journalist in the USA, I found myself in a roomful of mainstream conservative types standing around in groups and gossiping. Because I was new to the scene, many of the names they were tossing about were unknown to me, so I could not take much part in the conversation. Then I caught one name that I recognized. I had just recently read and admired a piece published in *Chronicles* under that name. I gathered from the conversation that the owner of the name had once been a regular contributor to much more widely read conservative publications, the kind that have salaried congressional correspondents and full-service LexisNexis accounts, but that he was welcome at those august portals no longer. In all innocence, I asked why this was so. "Oh," explained one of my companions, "he got the Jew thing." The others in our group all nodded their understanding. Apparently no further explanation was required. *The Jew thing*. It was said in the kind of tone you might use of an automobile with a cracked engine block, or a house with subsiding foundations. *Nothing to be done with him, poor fellow. No use to anybody now. Got the Jew thing. They shoot horses, don't they?*

Plainly, getting the Jew thing was a sort of occupational hazard of conservative journalism in the United States, an exceptionally lethal one, which the career-wise writer should strive to avoid. I resolved that I would do my best, so far as personal integrity allowed, not to get the Jew thing. I had better make it clear to the reader that at

the time of writing, I have not yet got the Jew thing—that I am in fact a philo-Semite and a well-wisher of Israel, for reasons I have explained in various places, none of them difficult for the nimble web surfer to find.

If, however, you have got the Jew thing, or if, for reasons unfathomable to me, you would like to get it, Kevin MacDonald is your man. MacDonald is a tenured professor of psychology at California State University in Long Beach. He is best known for his three books about the Jews, developing the idea that Judaism has for 2,000 years or so been a "group evolutionary strategy." The subject of this review is a re-issue, in soft cover, of the third and most controversial of these books, *The Culture of Critique*, first published in 1998. Its subtitle is, "An evolutionary analysis of Jewish involvement in twentieth-century intellectual and political movements." The re-issue differs from the original mainly by the addition of a 66-page preface, which covers some more recent developments in the field and offers responses to some of the criticisms that appeared when the book was first published. The number of footnotes has also been increased from 135 to 181, and they have all been moved from the chapter-ends to the back of the book. A small

amount of extra material has been added to the text. So far as I could tell from a cursory comparison of the two editions, nothing has been subtracted.

The main thrust of this book's argument is that Jewish or Jewish-dominated organizations and movements engaged in a deliberate campaign to delegitimize the Gentile culture of their host nations—most particularly the USA—through the twentieth century and that this cam-

psychoanalytic movement, the Frankfurt School of social science (which sought to explain social problems in terms of individual psychopathology), the "New York intellectuals" centered on *Partisan Review* during the 1940s and 1950s, and Jewish involvement in shaping U.S. immigration policy.

MacDonald writes from the point of view of evolutionary psychology—a term that many writers would put in quotes, as

### EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGY MAY EVENTUALLY TURN OUT TO BE ONE OF THOSE ODD FADS THAT THE HUMAN SCIENCES, ESPECIALLY IN THE USA, ARE SUSCEPTIBLE TO.

paign is one aspect of a long-term survival strategy for the Jews as an ethnicity. In MacDonald's own words, "[T]he rise of Jewish power and the disestablishment of the specifically European nature of the U.S. are the real topics of *CofC*." He illustrates his thesis by a close analysis of six distinct intellectual and political phenomena: the anti-Darwinian movement in the social sciences (most particularly the no-such-thing-as-race school of anthropology associated with Franz Boas), the prominence of Jews in left-wing politics, the

the epistemological status of this field is still a subject of debate. I have a few doubts of my own on this score and sometimes wonder whether evolutionary psychology may eventually turn out to be one of those odd fads that the human sciences, especially in the USA, are susceptible to. The twentieth century saw quite a menagerie of these fads: Behaviorism, Sheldonian personality-typing by body shape (ectomorph, mesomorph, and endomorph), the parapsychological researches of Dr. J.B. Rhine, the sexology of Alfred Kinsey, and so on. I think that the evolutionary psychologists are probably on to something, but some of their more extreme claims seem to me to be improbable and unpleasantly nihilistic. Here, for example, is Kevin MacDonald in a previous book: "The human mind was not designed to seek truth but rather to attain evolutionary goals." This trembles on the edge of deconstructionist words-have-no-meaning relativism, of the kind that philosopher David Stove called "puppetry theory," and that MacDonald himself debunks very forcefully in Chapter 5 of *The Culture of Critique*. After all, if it is so, should we not suppose that evolutionary psychologists are pursuing their own "group evolutionary strategy"? And that, in criticizing them, I am pursuing mine? And that there is, therefore, no point at all in my writing, or your reading, any further?

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To be fair to Kevin MacDonald, not all of his writing is as silly as that. *The Culture of Critique* includes many good things. There is a spirited defense of the scientific method, for example. One of the sub-themes of the book is that Jews are awfully good at creating pseudosciences—elaborate, plausible, and intellectually very challenging systems that do not, in fact, have any truth content—and that this peculiar talent must be connected somehow with the custom, persisted in through long pre-Enlightenment centuries, of immersing young men in the study of a vast body of argumentative writing, with status in the community—and marriage options, and breeding opportunities—awarded to those who have best mastered this mass of meaningless esoterica. (This is not an original observation, and the author does not claim it as such. In fact he quotes historian Paul Johnson to the same effect, and earlier comments along these lines were made by Arthur Koestler and Karl Popper.) MacDonald is very scathing about these circular and self-referential thought-systems, especially in the case of psychoanalysis and the “pathologization of Gentile culture” promoted by the Frankfurt School. Here he was precisely on my wavelength, and I found myself cheering him on. Whatever you may think of MacDonald and his theories, there is no doubt he believes himself to be doing careful objective science. The same could, of course, be said of Sheldon, Rhine, Kinsey, et al.

It is good to be reminded, too, with forceful supporting data, that the 1924 restrictions on immigration to the U.S. were not driven by any belief on the part of the restrictionists in their own racial superiority but by a desire to stabilize the nation’s ethnic balance, which is by no means the same thing. (In fact, as MacDonald points out, one of the worries of the restrictionists was that more clever and energetic races like the Japanese would, if allowed to enter, have negative effects on social harmony.) MacDonald’s chapter on “Jewish involvement in shaping U.S. immigration policy” is a detailed survey of a top-

ic I have not seen discussed elsewhere. If the Jews learned anything from the 20th century, it was surely the peril inherent in being the only identifiable minority in a society that is otherwise ethnically homogeneous. That thoughtful Jewish-Americans should seek to avoid this fate is understandable. That their agitation was the main determinant of postwar U.S. immigration policy seems to me more doubtful. And if it is true, we must believe that 97 percent of the U.S. population ended up dancing to the tune of the other three percent. If that is true, the only thing to say is the one Shakespeare’s Bianca would have said: “The more fool they.”

Similarly with MacDonald’s discussion of Jewish involvement in the Bolshevik takeover of the Russian Empire and the many horrors that ensued. This was until recently another taboo topic, though the aged Alexander Solzhenitsyn, presumably feeling he has nothing much to lose, has recently taken a crack at it. I believe MacDonald was driven by necessity here. Having posited that Jews are out to “destroy” (this is his own word) Gentile society, he was open

Since the notion of “group evolutionary strategy” is central to MacDonald’s case, I wish he had been better able to convince me of its validity. For instance, I happen to be fairly well acquainted with the culture and history of China, a nation that, like the diaspora Jews, awarded high social status and enhanced mating opportunities to young men who had shown mastery of great masses of content-free written material. Anyone who has read stories from the premodern period of China’s history knows that the guy who gets the girl—who ends up, in fact, with a bevy of “secondary wives” who are thereby denied to less intellectual males—is the one who has aced the Imperial examinations and been rewarded with a District Magistrate position. This went on for two thousand years. Today’s Chinese even, like Ashkenazi Jews, display an average intelligence higher by several points than the white-Gentile mean. So: was Confucianism a “group evolutionary strategy”? If so, then plainly the Chinese of China were, in MacDonald’s jargon, the “ingroup”. But then ... what was the “outgroup”?

# SINCE THE NOTION OF “GROUP EVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY” IS CENTRAL TO MACDONALD’S CASE, I WISH HE HAD BEEN BETTER ABLE TO CONVINCE ME OF ITS VALIDITY.

to the riposte that if, after 2,000 years of trying, the Jews had failed to accomplish this objective in even one instance, Gentiles don’t actually have much to worry about. So: the Jews destroyed Russia. Though MacDonald’s discussion of this topic is interesting and illuminating, it left me unconvinced. As he says, “The issue of the Jewish identification of Bolsheviks who were Jews by birth is complex.” Paul Johnson gives only 15-20 percent of the delegates at early Party congresses as Jewish. If the other 80-85 percent were permitting themselves to be manipulated by such a small minority, then we are back with Bianca.

The more I think about the term “group evolutionary strategy,” in fact, the more I wonder if it is not complete nonsense. From an evolutionary point of view, would not the optimum strategy for almost any European Jew at almost any point from AD 79 to AD 1800 or so have been conversion to Christianity? Rather than learning to argue fine points of theology, would not a better strategy have been to learn, say, fencing or Latin? Sure, the Jews held together as a group across 2,000 years. The gypsies held together pretty well, too, across many centuries, yet their “group evolutionary strategy” was the opposite of the Jews’ at almost every

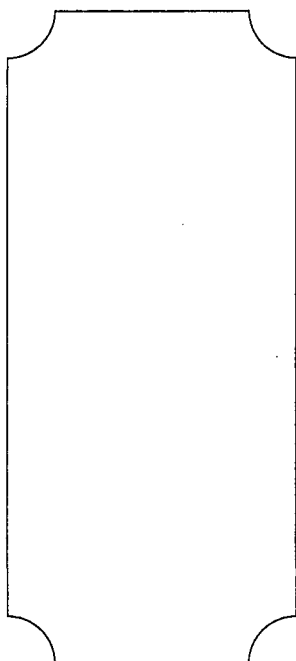
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point. And the Jewish over-representation in important power centers of Gentile host societies became possible only after Jewish emancipation—which, like abolition of the slave trade, was an entirely white-Gentile project! Did the genes of 12th-century Jews “know” emancipation was going to happen 700 years on? How? If they did not, what was the point of their “evolutionary strategy”? There is a whiff of teleology about this whole business.

Kevin MacDonald is working in an important field. There is no disputing that we need to understand much more than we now do about how common-ancestry groups react with each other. Group conflicts are a key problem for multiracial and multicultural societies. Up till about 1960, the U.S. coped with these problems by a frank assertion of white-Gentile ethnic dominance, very much as Israel copes with them today by asserting Jewish ethnic dominance. This proved to be quite a stable arrangement, as social arrangements go. It was obviously objectionable to some American Jews, and it is not surprising that they played an enthusiastic part in undermining it; but they were not the sole, nor even the prime, movers in its downfall. It was replaced, from the 1960s on, by a different arrangement, characterized by racial guilt, shame, apology, and recompense, accompanied by heroic efforts at social engineering (“affirmative action”). This system, I think it is becoming clear, has proved less stable than what went before and has probably now reached the point where it cannot be sustained much longer. What will replace it? What will the new arrangement be?

At times of flux like this, there are naturally people whose preference is for a return to the older dispensation. It is obvious that Kevin MacDonald is one of these people. If this is not so, he has some heavy explaining to do about phrases like “the ethnic interests of white Americans to develop an ethnically and culturally homogeneous society.” Personally, I think he’s dreaming. The older dispensation was not as bad as lib-

eral commentators and story-tellers would have us believe, but it is gone forever and will not return. For America, the toothpaste is out of the tube.

And on the point of Israel having something very much like the old American dispensation, I am unimpressed by MacDonald’s oft-repeated argument—it is a favorite with both Israelophobes and anti-Semites—that it is hypocritical for Jews to promote multiculturalism in the U.S. while wishing to maintain Jewish ethnic dominance in Israel. Unless you think that ethnic dominance, under appropriate restraining laws, is immoral *per se*—and I don’t, and Kevin MacDonald plainly doesn’t either—it can be the foundation of a stable and successful nation. A nation that can establish it and maintain it would be wise to do so. The USA was not able to maintain it because too many Americans—far more than three percent—came to think it violated Constitutional principles. Israel, however, was founded on different principles, and there seems to be no large popular feeling in that country for dismantling Jewish-ethnic dominance, as there was in Lyndon Johnson’s America for dismantling European dominance. The Israelis, most of them, are happy with Jewish-ethnic dominance and intend to keep it going. Good luck to them.

The aspect of MacDonald’s thesis that I find least digestible is his underlying assumption that group conflict is a zero-sum game rooted in an evolutionary tussle over finite resources. This is not even true on an international scale, as the growing wealth of the whole world during this past few decades has shown. On the scale of a single nation, it is absurd. These Jewish-inspired pseudoscientific phenomena that *The Culture of Critique* is concerned with—Boasian anthropology, psychoanalysis, the Frankfurt School, and so on—were they a net negative for America? Yes, I agree with MacDonald, they were. Now conduct the following thought experiment. Suppose the great post-1881 immigration of Ashkenazi Jews had never occurred. Suppose the Jewish popula-

tion of the U.S. in 2003 were not the two to four percent (depending on your definitions) that it is, but the 0.3 percent it was at the start of the Civil War. Would anything have been lost? Would America be richer or poorer? Would our cultural and intellectual life be busier or duller?

It seems incontrovertible to me that a great deal would have been lost: entrepreneurs, jurists, philanthropists, entertainers, publishers, and legions upon legions of scholars: not mere psychoanalysts and "critical theorists," but physicists, mathematicians, medical researchers, historians, economists—even, as MacDonald notes honestly in his new preface, evolutionary psychologists! The first American song whose words I knew was "White Christmas," written by a first-generation Ashkenazi Jewish immigrant. The first boss I ever had in this country was a Jew who had served honorably in the U.S. Marine Corps. Perhaps it is true, as MacDonald claims, that "most of those prosecuted for spying for the Soviet Union [i.e., in the 1940s and 1950s] were Jews." It is also true, however, that much of the secret research they betrayed to their country's enemies was the work of Jewish scientists. The Rosenbergs sold the Bomb to the Soviets; but without Jewish physicists, there would have been no Bomb to sell. Last spring I attended a conference of mathematicians attempting to crack a particularly intractable problem in analytic number theory. A high proportion of the 200-some attendees were Jews, including at least two from Israel. Sowers of discord there have certainly been, but on balance I cannot see how anyone could deny that this country is enormously better off for the contributions of Jews. Similarly for every other nation that has liberated the energies and intelligence of Jewish citizens. Was Hungary better off, or worse off, after the 1867 *Ausgleich*? Was Spain better off, or worse off, before the 1492 expulsions? "To ask the question is to answer it."

Now, Kevin MacDonald might argue that he, as a social scientist, is not obliged to provide any such balance in

his works, any more than a clinical pathologist writing about disease should be expected to include an acknowledgment that most of his readers will be healthy for most of their lives. I agree. A scientist, even a social scientist, need not present any facts other than those he has uncovered by diligent inquiry in his particular narrow field. He is under no obligation, as a scientist, to soothe the feelings of those whose sensibilities might be offended by his discoveries. Given the highly combustible nature of MacDonald's material, however, *it wouldn't have hurt* to point out the huge, indisputably net-positive, contributions of Jews to America, right at the beginning of his book and again at the end. MacDonald has in any case been fairly free in *CofC* with his own opinions on such matters as U.S. support for Israel, immigration policy, and so on. He is entitled to those opinions, but having included them in this book, his claim to dwell only in the aery realm of cold scientific objectivity does not sound very convincing.

This is, after all, in the dictionary definition of the term, an anti-Semitic book. Its entire argument is that the

Jews, collectively, are up to no good. This may of course be true, and MacDonald is entitled to say that the issue of whether his results are anti-Semitic is nugatory, from a social-science point of view, by comparison with the issue of their truth content. I agree with that, too: but given the well-known history of this topic, it seems singularly obtuse of MacDonald not to try to calm the troubled waters his work is bound to stir up. From my own indirect, and rather scanty, knowledge of the man, I would put this down to a personality combination of prickliness and unworldliness, but I am not sure I could persuade less charitable souls that my interpretation is the correct one, and that there is not malice lurking behind MacDonald's elaborate sociological jargon. ■

John Derbyshire (<http://www.olimu.com>) is a Contributing Editor of National Review and a twice-weekly columnist for National Review Online. His book *Prime Obsession*, an account of the Riemann Hypothesis, will be published April 18 by National Academies Press.



"What some people fail to grasp, Larry, is the difference between 'thinking outside the box' and just being a weirdo."



# The United States of Everywhere

Until the collapse of communism, there was no fiercer defender of America and her values than yours truly. In 1975, I was given a 15-month prison sentence by a

Greek kangaroo court for having exposed Yannis Horn, then publisher of the *Athens Daily News*, for receiving KGB gold and Judas-like exposing Richard Welch as a CIA operative in Athens. As a result, Welch was murdered by the Nov. 17 terrorists just before Christmas, and I left for London until an appeals court threw out the decision. Horn is now in that sauna-like place below, the Nov. 17 murderers have been rounded up (it took the Greeks 25 years to manage it), and I seem to be making a habit of receiving threats of prison time for writing the truth.

The article exposing Yannis Horn appeared both in *National Review* and on the op-ed page of the *New York Times*. That cooked my goose in the birthplace of selective democracy. The *New York Times* was revered in Greece because of its anti-American stance during the Vietnam War as well as for its virulent anti-Nixon-Agnew posturing during Watergate. To expose the infiltration of the Greek press by the KGB in the sacrosanct pages of the *Times* was worse than a crime. It was treason.

The Greeks are the most anti-American folk in Europe, and I'm sad to say we were the only ones to boo the victims of 9/11 when asked to stand for a minute of silence before a football game. Be that as it may, Greek-Americans are among the most patriotic, law-abiding, and hard-working U.S. citizens, sending lotsa moolah back home and spending generously when they visit the

mother country. But like me, they are at a loss when faced with the anti-Americanism of the locals. On a recent visit, sitting in a taverna, sipping ouzo, and discussing politics, I brought up the subject. "What about the Marshall Plan, the years of military and economic help, and the hundreds of social programs financed by Uncle Sam?" I asked. My friends did not want to know. It is all part of a master plan to run the world was the answer.

Greeks being Greeks, we almost came to blows, then forgot all about it after the second bottle of ouzo. But the problem did not go away. And from what I gathered, it is a problem because

me the wrong way was America's evident contempt for other people's traditions, its air of self-righteousness, its know-it-all-ism.

U.S. efforts to open markets for genetically modified food products give foreigners yet another platform to yell bully. The French lead the way. There is, to be sure, a certain snobbishness involved. American culture is identified with hamburgers, blue jeans, and fast food, while France is known for luxury items—haute couture and champagne. When Rome's Café de Paris, made famous in the film "La Dolce Vita," became a fast-food joint, Romans were outraged. Instead of blaming market forces, they blamed the phillistine Yankees. A running joke in Athens is the American tourist in the Acropolis who yells in wonder, "Look, Ma, from here I can see the Hilton."

## RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE ARE SUBSCRIBING TO THE NOTION THAT UNCLE SAM IS A WORSE THREAT THAN SADDAM.

of the excessive economic and political power exercised by Uncle Sam. This, needless to say, is nothing new. Everyone wants to shoot down the Super Bowl winner, and America has been winning the Super Bowl rather regularly. Then I asked myself what, if anything, I had against Uncle Sam. He had, after all, given my father the opportunity to rebuild his fortune which was lost during the war, had treated my foreign family like long-lost sons, and had stood firm against the evil empire that threatened to swallow us up *à la* the rest of Eastern Europe.

The answer was simple: what rubbed

Then there are movies and music. By controlling the pipelines of communication with one another, as well as shaping the cultural content contained within those channels, American companies affect people everywhere. It is unprecedented. Traditional music and dance are a no-no with the young; Hollywood garbage and rap are God. Mind you, it is not Uncle Sam's fault, but good old capitalism's. Still the good uncle takes the fall. The once colorful locals—Greek fishermen, Italian Lotharios, French folk singers—now stay home and watch *Friends* and *Jerry Springer* on TV. It's called the "American century."

I bring all this up because the recent antiwar demonstrations all over Europe were heartbreaking, at least for me. Basically the demonstrations were anti-American, no ifs or buts about it. I am very much against the war for the obvious reasons. Establishing a new world order of supranational government is Hitlerian in concept and will need to be Stalinist in execution. America is a republic, not an empire, as Pat Buchanan never ceases to remind us. But neocon warmongers formulated their plans long ago, ignoring history. Deterrence is expensive and irritating, but it kept the peace for 50 years between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and finally saw the end of the Soviet threat. As long as there is an alternative, there is no just war.

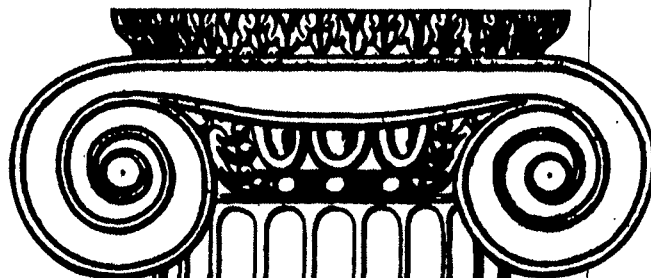
The idea, however, that I'm on the same side with American-haters like the egregious Bianca Jagger makes my blood boil. This third-rate tart should stick to nightclubs and rich pop stars and leave politics to those who can at least spell the word. Worse was seeing the gruesome Jesse Jackson, an extortionist par-excellence, using toe-curling clichés to fire up the crowd. A crowd, alas, (I am speaking of London and Paris) that was not the usual rent-a-crowd anti-American scum (only a small part), but hundreds of thousands of sane, sensible, and responsible people who have now changed sides and are subscribing to the notion that Uncle Sam is a worse threat than Saddam.

This is very serious indeed. Here's a British commentator, a pro-war one: "Demonstrably absurd views that were once confined to a few radicals have now become the norm. The center of the country's moral and intellectual gravity has shifted." Another pundit, a

friend of mine, Barbara Amiel, writing in the pro-war *Daily Telegraph*: "The real purpose of the weekend's massive protest was to attack Israel, America and free enterprise, not to promote peace over war." Which brings me to exactly the point I wish to make. For those of us who love America and have benefited from her largesse and fairness, it is unbearable to see her turned into a villain because of the Bush administration's Middle East policies. The millions who demonstrated were not anti-Semites, as the neocons will surely claim, but fair-minded people who wish to see Uncle Sam play fair. The government's claim of military intervention in the name of democracy is a sham. The government's claim that Iraq was involved with al-Qaeda has not been proved. American values are not universal. Israel may be a loyal ally, but the brutal occupation of Palestinian lands cannot in any way or shape be excused or defended.

Here's Pat Buchanan: "The way to keep America free and secure is to stay out of wars that do not affect our vital interests, and let alien societies work out their own destinies. As time was our ally against communism, which did not work, so time is our ally against Islamism, which also does not work."

The United States of Everywhere is bound to turn into a United States of Nowhere. The neocons who have bewitched a decent President Bush are not interested in the future. They want to play big man, now, just like they want to push the Palestinians off their ancient lands, now, while Sharon and the settlers are hot. It's up to the rest of us who love America to try to persuade those who govern us that this is a mug's game. ■



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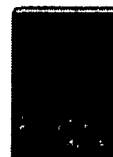
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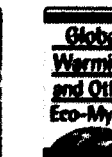
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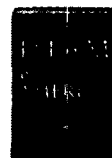
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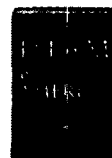
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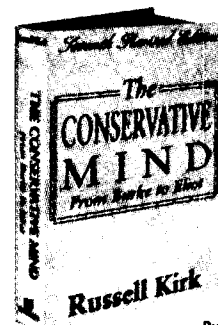
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— Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind*

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